

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUSKERA:
USING THE MATCHED-GUISE TECHNIQUE
AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and represents my own original thought. Where other works have been cited, the source has been acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Neither a language nor a society remains unchanged. Change is both inevitable and natural. Similarly attitudes towards speakers of different languages change over time. When more than one language is spoken in a community their relative distance from one another influences attitudes within it, since speech is a particularly sensitive instrument for gauging stereotyped attitudes present in a community. The affective aspect has created much research interest among those working in the area of language acquisition and is of primordial interest to teachers and educationalists, especially those concerned with primary and secondary education where most formal language learning starts.

The context of the present study is the Basque Country where two languages, Castilian and Euskera, the Basque language, are spoken. They are studied with reference to the attitudinal and affective aspects, with the main emphasis on the minorised language, Euskera.

The history of Euskera is examined in the light of other selected minority languages. An investigation into language attitudes towards Euskera using the 'matched-guise' technique is described and the conclusion drawn that a process of constant community accommodation is required to bring a positive resolution to the situation.

INTRODUCTION

1. Reason for study

Recent surveys in the Basque Country on the state of Euskera (the Basque language) have been concerned with levels of language proficiency or the attitudes of subjects in the 18+ age group. The research provided in this thesis complements this earlier work by investigating adolescent attitudes to Euskera among subjects currently studying the language.

The research touches also on the socio-psychological aspects of Language Learning and Teaching and therefore has some bearing on the role of Euskera in education.

2. Context

The survey was carried out in Primary and Secondary Schools with informants ranging from about 12 to 18 years of age. They belong to two distinct linguistic areas of the Basque Country which are defined according to the number of Basque speakers in each.

The questionnaires were completed over a period of six years during which period a law was promulgated establishing Euskera as one of the two official languages in the Basque Country.

3. General aims

The general aim was to examine whether a stereotyped image towards Euskera speakers was present in the sample. Within this general approach the study also examined a number of subject and stimulus variables, together with another methodological aspect, the use of the 'matched-guise' technique. This was used in a new context where it was necessary to consider possible adjustments to the specific sample under study.

4. Structure of thesis

The first two chapters set out the background to the situation of Euskera (and its speakers). Although there are fully documented historical works on the topic, the reason for inclusion of a brief overview is to sketch the situation in terms of community comments and opinions. Source material has been taken from contemporary newspapers, Journals and Reviews of the time, such as 'Euskal-Erria' (1880-1918), 'Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos' (1907-1936), 'Euskalerriaren-Alde' (1911-1931), 'Yakintza' (1933-1936), 'Eusko-Jakintza' (1947-1953).

The third chapter presents a complementary view by analysing the position of minority languages in other contexts thus widening the survey.

In chapter four the literature on the role played by attitudes in language acquisition is examined, while chapter five discusses the 'matched-guise' technique, devised to elicit information on language stereotypes and used in the present research.

In the following three chapters the results are presented of the analysis of the data gathered in the Pilot Study (1979), Main Survey (1980) and Follow-up Study (1983, 1984, 1985). Given the amount of data gathered, special care has been taken to present the results in as accessible a way as possible.

Finally, in the conclusions, the results are discussed and summed up in the light of a compromise solution, which moves away from an attitude of conflict and towards a more congenial 'settling'.

CHAPTER 1

Linguistic "settling"¹ in Euskadi

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to sketch briefly the present day situation of Euskera, the Basque language, and thus put into perspective the context of the survey.

Euskera/Euskara² is the name given to the Basque language, the origin and age³ of which remain so far unknown. Among the different theories about the language are those that relate it to the Caucasian languages, which find similarities with Berber, Etruscan, etc. and which insist on its having originated in the area where it is spoken. The only point on which there is agreement is that it is a Non-Indoeuropean language^{4/5}.

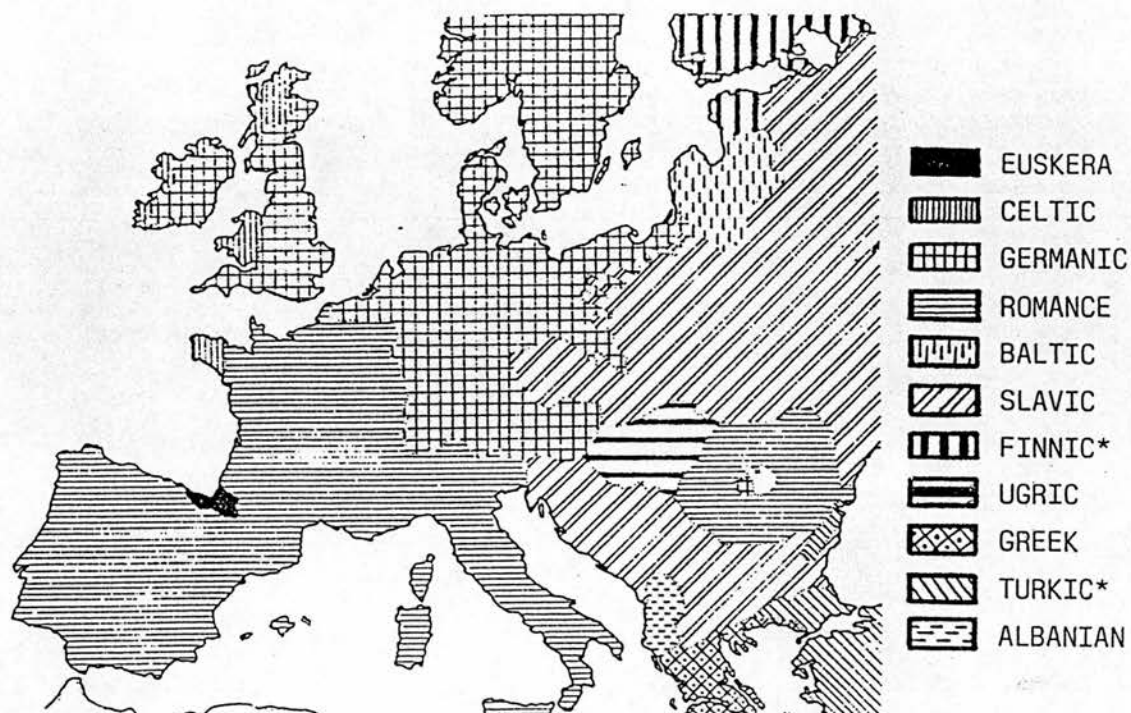
1. By 'settling' is meant a permanent readiness in the community to accept and revise claims from all parties requesting a reappraisal of the situation in search of equilibrium.

2. For very concise but full accounts on the Basque Language, see Tovar: 'The Basque Language' (1957) and 'Mitología e Ideología sobre la Lengua Vasca' (1980).

3. Cf. Cavalli-Sforza et al.: 'Reconstruction of human evolution : Bringing together genetic, archaeological and linguistic data', *Science*, 242, p. 514 (28.10.1988).

4. Hence the distance from Castilian, a Romance language, and the difficulty that the unrelated different linguistic structures cause the second language learners. This problem is not faced by any of the speakers of the other languages of Spain, such as Catalan or Galician, both Romance languages.

5. For an introduction to Contrastive Studies; see Lado (1957), Di Pietro (1971), James (1980) and Jørgensen (1982); for discussion of pedagogical applications of Contrastive Studies: Alatis (1968) and Fisiak (1981).



Euskera and other European language families⁶

Euskera is a semi-agglutinative language with a rich declension, a strong system of suffixes and a verbal system which allows great variety of nuances in meaning⁷. There are eight dialects and it is spoken on both sides of the Pyrenees, although once it was more widely extended than at present. Nowadays it is used in Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba and Nafarroa to the South and Lapurdi (Labourd), Nafarroa-behera (Basse-Navarre) and Zuberoa (Soule) to the north.

6. Enciclopedia General Ilustrada del País Vasco: 'EUSKARA', p. 342. (Adapted).

7. Cf. Saltarelli's (1988) concise description: "Basque is genetically an isolated language. Morphologically ergative, Basque appears, however, to be syntactically accusative. Highly inflected, with sixteen nominal cases, Basque qualifies as agglutinative (rather than inflectional) in Humboldt's typology. Its rich inflection allows for rather free word order among predicate arguments, although its neutral word order appears to be subject - object - verb ..." (Introduction).

* See : Crystal (1987): 304 & 307.



Although efforts had been made in the past to achieve a common literary language it was only in the meetings held by the Academy of the Basque language in 1971 and later that a unification programme was set up.

Euskera is a language of tradition and oral transmission in which many proverbs and sayings have been maintained. The first printed book appeared in 1545 but the existence of several dialects, the absence of its use in education and in official matters have all contributed to

its lack of development of a literature in the past. At the present moment numerous writers are attempting to redress this situation by producing texts in the 'unified Basque' = Euskera Batua.

Euskera has been repeatedly described as the most distinctive feature associated with the ethnic uniqueness of the Basque people. It is spoken in the Basque Country, although the term itself is, as Greenwood said, "a matter of dispute" (1977 : 83). In the present chapter, however, since the overview will be in terms of the changed legal status of Euskera, observations will be limited to the 'Comunidad Autónoma Vasca'. This area comprising Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa (=2,134,967 inhabitants in 1982⁸) marks the delimitations of the authority of the Basque Government and consequently the area in which Euskera has become an official language. Reference to other areas where Euskera is spoken - Nafarroa and the French area - will be made in passing.

8. Number of Euskera speakers:

(a) **SIADeco report:**

1975. Comunidad Autónoma	= 500,508
Nafarroa	= 53,340
French area	= 78,453
Emigrants	= 90,000

(b) **Gabinete de Prospección Sociológica del Gobierno Vasco**

(Survey of adult population over 18 years):

1982 - Comunidad Autónoma	= 325,788
1984 - Nafarroa	= 30,067

From the same 1982/1984 survey, percentage on language proficiency of this population:

	<u>Understanding</u>	<u>Speaking</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>
GIPUZKOA	40.89%	38.55%	24.79%	19.06%
BIZKAIA	15.97%	14.54%	8.76%	6.63%
ARABA	4.48%	3.80%	3.33%	2.60%
C. A. Vasca	22.67%	21.04%	13.30%	10.18%

1.2.1 Towards official recognition

In the long history of the Basque language there were very few occasions on which it was shown any recognition, and then not in official terms. More than anything else it was the acknowledgement of a 'de facto' situation. For example, there was an instance reported by the researcher J. Garmendia (1977 : 578) where the Bishop of Calahorra ordered the printing in 1602 of the Catechisms in Euskera, as recorded in the Synod Constitutions of that year (Book 1, chp. 4, 11). But no acknowledgement of its role as a language present in everyday official life was recorded. On the contrary, the evidence was rather the opposite. Its use was forbidden in the proposals or Acts of the Basque Parliament in Gernika, although its use was permitted in discussions⁹.

At the beginning of this century there was an instance that seemed to point to a slight improvement in this attitude. In 1927, the Royal Academy of the Spanish language issued a decree whereby a section for Euskera was created and two members for this section had to be elected¹⁰.

9. See Humboldt (1801), Carnarvon (1848).

10. At the meeting of March 10th, 1927, D. Julio de Urquijo and D. Resurrección María de Azkue(11) were elected.

Both were relevant for their work on Euskera. J. de Urquijo (1871-1950) was the founder of the important **Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos** (1907). In 1918 he attended the Congress of Basque Studies in Oñate (Bizkaia) where the Society of Basque Studies and the Academy of the Basque Language were set up, and where he was designated as one of the four founder members. He was a member of Parliament and of both the Academy of History and of the Spanish Language. His publication list is very long but as important as his own work is his vast collection of Basque books and manuscripts which he bequeathed to the Diputación (County Council) of Gipuzkoa.

R. M. Azkue (1864-1951) occupied the first chair of Euskera at the Instituto of Bilbao from 1888 until 1936. He was one of the four founders of the Academy of the Basque Language (1918) and its President until his death. His publications are so varied and vast that only his four main works will be mentioned as examples: A **Dictionary Euzkera-Castilian-French** in 2 volumes (Bilbao, 1905); 11 volumes of popular songs (Barcelona, no date); **Euskalerriaren Yakintza**, a collection of folklore in 4 volumes (Madrid 1935-1947) and a **Morphology** (Bilbao, 1925) with exhaustive documentation on Basque affixes and grammar categories.

11. See Weinstein (1987) for a comment on the role of individuals such as Azkue in influencing others in formulating a language ideology.

Besides fulfilling the same functions as the section for the Castilian language these members had to compile a dictionary. The idea of creating a specific academy for such a 'regional language' had been dismissed, using as justification its reduced area of diffusion. The role of the language solely in its familiar and literary use was constantly emphasized.

A few years later, in 1931, and following the example of Catalonia, there was a request for official recognition of Euskera in primary education, one of a series of demands voiced at that time. But four years later the pedagogue Olano wrote an article on the right to primary instruction in the mother tongue in the light of international Law. After reviewing at length the International Treaties of Minorities and Declarations at the League of Nations, he concluded in these succinct terms:

"El pueblo vasco también espera con ansia el reconocimiento por el estado de sus derechos étnicos, de lengua y religión".

(1935 : 130)

*("The Basque people also awaits anxiously the recognition by the State of its ethnic, linguistic and religious rights".)

This seemed to speak of a not very satisfactory situation, which, even if only very briefly, was to be redressed in 1936-37. An 'Estatuto' and the first Basque Government led to the recognition of Euskera as an official language. But it was an extremely short period, followed by years of discriminatory and contemptuous treatment by the Spanish authorities.

This period was studied by Urrutia, Professor of Administrative Law at Deusto University, Bilbao (1971)

*Note: Translations throughout reflect as closely as possible the tone and style of the original source material.

through the legal texts (Orders and Decrees) issued between 1937 and 1970. He pointed out the presence of a pervasive reasoning principle: the unity of the state and the use of the Castilian language as the expression of this unity. There was therefore a double option in the treatment of the other native languages: suppression or ignorance. Esman (1977) in his summing up of the management of ethnic conflicts mentioned a wider range of possibilities : neglect, ridicule, suppression and accommodation. For Euskera, the fourth option was unthought of.

Thirty years later in 1967 the Academy of the Basque Language requested concessions from the Minister of Education and Science presented as experimental activities and worded in a very tentative way. The same year, the Diputación de Navarra (Regional Council) adopted resolutions for the teaching of Euskera on the same voluntary basis as requested by the Academy, but with an important addition - for some posts in certain areas of the community knowledge of Euskera would be given credit.

1975 marked a step forward, albeit with qualifications and reservations. On May 30th a decree authorised the inclusion of the 'native Spanish languages' as voluntary subjects in pre-school education and Primary Schools. On October 31st of the same year, the Spanish Government promulgated another decree whereby 'the use of the Spanish regional languages' was regulated. Obieta, Professor of International Law at Deusto University, Bilbao, (1976) in his analysis of the decree in the wider context of the treatment of other

minority languages highlighted the restrictive character of some of the articles. These referred to the use of the languages in two fundamental official areas : in administration and education. The author concluded that the failure of the decree lay in its very conception of language as a cultural artefact rather than as an expression of human community. Although he acknowledged the progress towards recognition of the minority languages, rather than considering them as merely 'regional' languages, he described the move as a very timid one.

It was not until 1982 that, finally, Euskera reached again the status of official language of the Basque Country, together with Castilian. This was a situation that had previously been experienced, even if for a very brief period, in 1936-37 just before and during part of the Spanish Civil War.

On November 24th, 1982 the Basque Parliament promulgated the Law of Normalisation of the use of Euskera. As an example of the progress made in the seven years between 1975 and 1982, two articles are quoted from the 1975 Decree and the 1982 New Law:

1975

"Art.3 -El castellano como idioma oficial de la nación, y vehículo de comunicación de todos los españoles, será el usado en todas las actuaciones de los altos órganos del estado, administración pública, administración de justicia, entidades locales y demás corporaciones de derecho público.

Será asimismo el idioma utilizado en cualesquiera escritos o peticiones que a los mismos se dirijan o que de ellos emanen"

("Castilian as the official language of the nation and the vehicle of communication for all the Spanish people will be used in all proceedings of the principal organs of State, public administration, justice and local and other bodies responsible for public law.

It will also be the language used in any written document or petition addressed to those bodies or coming from them".)

1982

- 5 garren Atala
- 1 Euskal Herriar guztiek dute hizkuntza ofi-
zialak hitzez nahiz idatziz ezagutzeko eta era-
biltzeko eskubide.
- 2 Euskal Herriarrei honako funtsezko hizkuntza-
eskubide hauek aitortzen zaizkie:

- a) Arduralaritzarekin eta Autonomia-Elkartean
kokatutako edozein Ihardutze-Sail edo
Erakunderekin harremanak hitzez eta/edo
idatziz euskeraz edo gaztelaniaz izateko
eskubidea".

- "Art 5-1 Todos los ciudadanos del País Vasco tienen
derecho a conocer y usar las lenguas ofi-
ciales, tanto oralmente como por escrito.
- 2 Se reconocen a los ciudadanos del País
Vasco los siguientes derechos lingüísticos
fundamentales:

- a) Derecho a relacionarse en euskera o en
castellano oralmente y/o, por escrito
con la administración y con cualquier
organismo o entidad radicado en la comu-
nidad autónoma..."

- "Art 1 All citizens in the Basque Country have the
right to know and use orally as well as in
writing the official languages.

- 2 The following are recognised as language
rights of the citizens of the Basque
Country:

- a) The right to communicate in Euskera or
in Castilian orally and/or in writing
with the administration and with any
organ or body established within the
autonomous community...").

1975

"En materia de enseñanza se estará a lo dispuesto en la ley general de educación(12) y en el decreto mil cuatrocientos treinta y tres/mil novecientos setenta y cinco, de treinta de mayo(13)".

("In matters relating to education they will be dealt with as stated in the General Law of Education and in the Decree 1433 of 30th May 1975.")

1982

"5 garren atala 2,b)
Ikasketak bi hizkuntza ofizialetan egiteko eskubidea."

"Art 5.2.b) Derecho a recibir la enseñanza en ambas lenguas oficiales."

("The right to receive education in both official languages.")

The terms in which both the decree and the law were expressed are clear enough not to need any further comment. In one case it was 'the only' vehicle of communication; in the next extract the right of the citizens to choose either language was specifically stated.

The same change was perceived in education: all the restrictions, qualifications and concessions were removed to acknowledge the right to education in either language. In practice, this is still a notional right in some areas.

1.2.2 Euskeraren Erabilpena Arauzkotzezko Oinarrizko Legea - Ley Básica de Normalización del Uso del Euskera. 1982

This 1982 Law marked a new departure for the Basque language in the community¹⁴.

12. Art 1 = To incorporate the regional peculiarities into education.

13. Authorization to introduce the regional languages as voluntary subjects.

14. For complete and fully documented accounts of the history of the Basque language in recent times, see: Euskaltzaindia = *El libro blanco del euskara*. (1977); Euskaltzaindia : *Conflicto Lingüístico en Euskadi*. (1979); Ruiz Olabuénaga et al. = *La Lucha del Euskara*. (1983), etc.

In the statement of motives, it was said:

"Helburua zera da : Euskera, gure Elkartearen nortasunaren erakusgarri nabarmenena eta behinena eta, ezagutzaren eta erabilkeraren bidez, gizabanakoak Elkartean erabat bertakotzeko bidea dela aitortzea" (p. 10)

"Se trata de reconocer al euskera como el signo más visible y objetivo de identidad de nuestra Comunidad y un instrumento de integración plena del individuo en ella a través de su conocimiento y uso." (p. 11)

("The objective is to recognise Euskera as the most visible and objective sign of the identity of our community and as an instrument of total integration of the individual in it through its knowledge and use".)

The rights of the Basque citizens and a guarantee to protect the language were explicitly mentioned:

"Hizkuntzari Euskal Herriko herrikide guztien baterapide denaren aitorpena egin ondoren, euskal herritarrek hizkuntzaren alorrean dituzten eskubideak gure Lege-Antolapidetzaratu beharra dago eta, batipat, hizkuntza ofizial bietan ihardutzeko eskubidea, eta hizkuntzarekiko babesaren bermea, Euskal Herriak gordetzen duen kultura-ondare baten funtsezko zati denez". (p. 12)

"Reconocida la lengua como elemento integrador de todos los ciudadanos del País Vasco, deben incorporarse a nuestro ordenamiento jurídico los derechos de los ciudadanos vascos en materia lingüística, particularmente el derecho a expresarse en cualquiera de las dos lenguas oficiales y la garantía de la defensa de nuestra lengua como parte esencial de un patrimonio cultural, del que el Pueblo Vasco es depositario".

(p. 13)

("The language having been recognised as the integrative element of all citizens in the Basque Country, all rights of the Basque citizens in language matters must be incorporated into our judicial ordinances. This is particularly the case with regard to expression in either of the two official languages and the guarantee of the defence of our language as an essential part of the cultural heritage of the Basque people".)

This philosophy was conveyed under five headings dealing with the following matters:

1. The rights of the citizens and the duties of the public bodies in language matters.
2. The proceedings of the public bodies in:
 - i. the use of Euskera in administration; the inscription of documents in public registers; bilingual publication of all official documents, official nomenclature, traffic signs, etc. ... and finally, the progressive conversion of civil servants into Euskera speakers.
 - ii. Euskera in education. The right to education in Euskera with compulsory teaching of the other language in the one not chosen as the medium of instruction and the adaptation of curricula for teachers.
3. Euskera and mass media. Protection and promotion by the Government.
4. The role of the Government in setting up an agency for the implementation and development of this law as to the social use of Euskera (associations, publicity, literacy, etc.)
5. The role of the Government in overseeing the unification and normalisation of the common written Euskera.

The programme outlined above covered all areas of life in society and the magnitude of the enterprise could only be determined as different tasks were attempted in due course¹⁵.

1.3 Data from newspapers

It is only recently that this law of Normalisation has been promulgated and even more recently that some of the matters contained therein have been implemented. Other aspects are still only now in the process of implementation. However, in such a brief period of time, change may still be

15. See: Cobarrubias (1987) on various aspects of the effects of the linguistic normalisation five years after the Law was promulgated.

reflected in the community. In examining this proposition, newspapers were used to obtain information on facts and opinions in everyday life; three were selected to provide a sample of practice in Bizkaia. In a survey carried out by the 'Oficina de Justificación de Difusión' (the official recorder of newspaper circulation figures) estimates of 458,000, 160,000 and 148,000 readers a day were given respectively for 'El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco', 'Egin' and 'Deia' (Correo 13-7-86 : 25).

Several periods of a month each were explored at the time of both the Pilot Study (October 1979) and the main survey in the present study (February 1980), but there are references also to other dates for the three-year period of the Follow-up work (October, 1983, 1984, 1985) and of the final stage of the survey (April 1987) when more samples were gathered. The information was obtained from news reports, giving accounts of events in the community and editorials, interviews and finally letters offering a more subjective view.

The sample of materials was voluminous, reflecting the vital interest of the community in language matters and related issues. Certain topics seemed to attract most comments, such as education, employment, the 'Estatuto', which made October 1979 a landmark in the recent history of the community. An issue of the first importance, the Referendum of the Estatuto de Gernika, whereby citizens of the Basque Country would obtain higher levels of responsibility in running their own affairs, was the centre of

interest. It was approved on October 25th¹⁶ and up to voting day the newspapers were full of information about the issue with interviews, debates, evaluation of contents, slogans, etc. often reflecting language related issues.

A summary is given below of some samples collected at the beginning, during and at the end of this period under study (1979, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987) for a week at a time. This gives an idea of what daily topics were commented on.

1979

Deia	3.10.79	: p. 4	Exhibition of texts on bilingualism
Egin	"	: 3	First 'ikastola' (Basque school)(17) to open in Barakaldo in a month.
Deia	4.10.79	: 12	Commission for implementation of Bilingualism set up
Egin	"	: 7	" "
Correo	"	: 9	" "
Egin	5.10.79	: 8	Socialist MP (Navarra) calls for more attention to vernacular languages
Correo	"	: 4	Euskera courses for employees of the Town Council in Bilbao to start up soon.
Deia	6.10.79	: 2	Letter. Date for bilingual road signs?
Deia	7.10.79	: 10	Presentation of a new method of Euskera for children
Egin	"	: 23	20,000 people at 'Kilometroak 79' (sponsored walk in favour of Euskera)
Correo	"	: 5	Euskera in entrance examinations for employees of the Town Council of Getxo
Deia	9.10.79	: 3	40,000 people attended 'Kilometroak 79':
Egin	"	: 5	15,000,000 pts collected for a new ikastola. 30,000 people attended the sponsored walk.
Deia	10.10.79	: 14	Society of Basque Studies: Appeal to work for Peace
Correo	"	: 9	" "
Correo	"	: 29	Letter: Everybody living and working together: Un no violento vasco

16. Results of Referendum = 60% participation. YES : 90.29%; NO : 5.14%; BLANK : 3.41%; NON-VALID : 1.16%.

17. See Chapter 2, 2.2.3.4, p. 49.

1980

Deia	3.2.80	:p.3	First 'ikastola' (=Basque school) to open in Barakaldo next Wednesday.
Correo	5.2.80	: 14	A quick visit of the Minister of Education to Bilbao. He considers that the solution to the problem of bilingualism will arrive with the first graduates of Basque Philology.
Deia	"	: 23	The Secretary of Euskaltzaindia (=Academy of the Basque Language) certifies the accuracy of the name of 'Santurtzi' at the request of its Council.
Deia	6.2.80	: 23	Today the first ikastola opens in Barakaldo (Bizkaia) with 130 children between 4 and 6 years.
Correo	"	: 11	J.G. (M.P. and President of the political party 'Unión de Centro Democrático) declares that bilingualism is only feasible today at the lower levels of education.
Correo	7.2.80	: 23	The political party 'Partido Socialista de Euskadi - Partido Socialista Obrero Español' (PSE - PSOE) will promote the implementation of real bilingualism.
Deia	"	: 4	The Minister of Education promises the Federation of ikastolas that there will not be any distinction between public schools and ikastolas when allocating the subsidies.
Egin	"	: 13	"It is not possible a Basque nation, without Euskera" (Collaboration by Haitzorrotz).
Deia	8.2.80	: 35	The Council of Leioa will grant 10 merit points to any Basque candidate, or candidates of Basque origin in a selective examination to join the local Police.
Egin	"	: 8	The 'PSE -PSOE' demands respect for the bilingualism established in the Estatuto from other parties. In their opinion some local decisions discriminate against workers because of their lack of Euskera.
Correo	"	: 8	Third Conference on 'Basque Culture' at the Ateneo in Madrid. The ethnographer Caro Baroja insists that differences can be established from the language but that from other characteristics, such as racial ones, the conclusions are not clear.
Correo	9.2.80	: 11	The 'Consejería de Educación' (=Basque Department of Education) has already received 500 million pts. as subsidies to the ikastolas.
Egin	"	: 5	A group of people demanding the real implementation of bilingualism interrupts the Council meeting in San Sebastián.

Deia 10.2.80 : 20 After the declaration of illegality by the Civil Government of Bizkaia, the Council of Leioa modifies the conditions to join the local Police. The candidates will have to be Spanish citizens and the residents in Euzkadi will be granted 10 points.

Letters:

Egin 3.2.80 : 18 "Mr Bandrés, what is linguistic fascism?"

Correo 9.2.80 : 11 "To Mr Estarrona and his Euskera" (In favour of the local Euskera rather than the unified Batua).

1983

Correo 3.10.83 : 11 Thousands of people in 'Kilometroak 83' (=sponsored walk in favour of Euskera).

Deia " : 1&3 About 80,000 persons in 'Kilometroak 83'

Egin " : 1 " "

Correo 4.10.83 : 1 Koldo Mitxelena (Basque linguist) Doctor 'Honoris causa' of the University of Barcelona (Catalonia)

" : 33 Jordi Pujol (President of the Government in Catalonia) declares at the ceremony of investiture of K. Mitxelena, that the language is the nerve of a nation.

Deia " : 15 K. Mitxelena. Courage and bravery in defence of a threatened language

" : 17 "Systematic underuse of Euskara in Basque Television". (M. Mujika).

Egin " : 6 " (Collaboration)

Deia 5.10.83 : 5 According to L. Iriondo (Director of Basque television) the core of Basque television is to be the platform for the Basque language. It serves its programme in Euskera to 2,000,000 inhabitants.

Egin 6.10.83 : 22 The County Council of Navarra decides today the future of the Euskera language course for unemployed graduates. There are 300 applications and not enough teachers.

Correo 9.10.83 : 16 "Not knowing Euskera". V. Copa answers Mujika's article (4.10.83) stating that many people only know Castilian in the Basque society.

Egin " : 1 Durango (Bizkaia). Demonstration against the use of Castilian in Basque television.

" : 26 The Council of Zalla (Bizkaia) refused permission for a stand to raise money for Euskera activities.

Egin 10.10.83 : 1 Hundreds of people attended the demonstration against introducing Castilian in Basque television.

Letters

Egin 7.10.83 : 14 "The University of the Basque Country" (A group of students of the political party Herri Batasuna, demands total incorporation with the University.

" "The Euskara language course, is it still on?" A teacher complains about the delay in its beginning).

1984

Correo 3.10.84 : 5 R. Jaulin (ethnologist) declares in the First Congress of 'Sociology of Minorised Languages' that a language has to fight for its permanence in daily life.

Deia " : 13 R. Jaulin: "Only Euskadi and Catalonia resist the dominant language".

" : 16 According to the political party 'Coalición Popular' Euskera prevents the access of many professionals to Basque television.

Correo " : 8 " "

" : 21 Courses in Euskera, Catalan and Galician will be offered for the first time at the Official Language School in Madrid.

Deia " : 43 Subsidies to Euskera in the radio stations of Navarra.

Egin " : 23 " "

" : 32 The political party 'Unión del Pueblo Navarro' is still creating obstacles to a Basque school in Baztan (Navarre).

Deia " : 13 M. Marañón (sociologist) commenting on the figures of Basque speakers according to the 1981 Census, queries whether the language of the new learners will be the same as that of the present-day Basque speakers.

Correo 4.10.84 : 8 Euskera survives in a world where over 4,000 different languages coexist. (J. Covarrubias, on the First Congress of Minorised Languages).

Deia " : 12 "Equal official status is not a guarantee of language maintenance". (J. Covarrubias).

" : 12 The first Linguistic Atlas of Euskera was published by the Basque Government.

" : 13 Euskera and Basque Television.

" : 5 The County Council has subsidized HABE (= the centres for the teaching of Euskera dependant on the Basque Government) with 150,000,000 pts.

Egin 5.10.84 : 5 "On 'chingolés' and other unknown languages". A. Sastre. (Euskera being less known than the unknown 'chingolés' language).

" : 22 400 students not able to study Euskara at the Language School of Navarra.

Egin	5.10.84	: 19	Ikastolas appeal against a decision of the Counselor responsible for Education in the Basque Country in order to obtain similar treatment for the schools transferred to the Basque Government.
Deia	"	: 1	Ikastolas might be free next year.
	"	: 9	According to the Vice-counselor of Education (P. Mendieta) ikastolas might be free from 1985
	"	: 4	Berango (Bizkaia) will open an ikastola.
	"	: 3	Euskaltzaindia insists on taking Euskera out into the streets.
	"	: 13	According to Sanchez Carrión in a communication to the Congress of Sociology of Minorised Languages "Euskera needs a mental decolonisation".
Correo	6.10.84	: 10	Ikastolas may be free from 1985 according to the Vice-counselor of Education.
Egin	"	: 19	'Kilometroak' will take place tomorrow in spite of the cyclone.
Deia	"	: 10	Controversy in Parliament over making ikastolas free.
	"	: 13	William Mackey, Professor of the International Centre of Research on Bilingualism at the University of Laval, in Québec, declares that Euskera has to increase its usefulness in order to survive.
	"	: 13	The Congress of Sociology of Minorised Languages concludes.
	"	: 13	C. Garaikoetxea, President of the Basque Government declares that the Basque people has not lost its will to remain Euskaldun (=Basque speaking) and this is the decisive factor in the survival of Euskera.
Egin	7.10.84	: 26	Data obtained on Euskara from the 1981 Census were published.
Deia	"	: 14	The International Congress of Minorised Languages, a great stimulus to the normalisation of Euskera.
Deia	8.10.84	: 9	'Kilometroak 84' (= sponsored walk in favour of Euskera) = over 100,000 people and 23,000,000 pts.
Egin	"	: 1	'Kilometroak 84' beats all records.
	"	: 6	Great success of Kilometroak 84'.
Egin	9.10.84	: 22	The Government of Navarra grants 5,000,000 pts to Euskaltzaindia (Academy of the Basque Language).
Deia	"	: 12	" "
	"	: 10	The Basque Government have invested over 3,600,000 pts on improving the infrastructure of the educational system to strengthen the level of Euskera.

Deia 9.10.84 : 12 AEK ("Coordinadora de Alfabetización y Euskaldunización") will run a crash course in Teacher Training Colleges for 177 teachers costing 22,042,500 pts.
 " : 12 According to the Department of Statistics over 20% of the population speaks Euskera in the Community.

Letters

Correo 3.10.84 : 25 (G.A.) : "Euskera batua"
 (On unified Basque. Normalisation, the salvation of Euskera).

Egin 8.10.84 : 6 (N.A.) : "The University of Deusto and Euskara".

1985

Deia 3.10.85 : 16 Book Fair - Madrid : 450 new titles from the association of Basque Publishers.

" : 18 The new Secretary of Language Policy to answer before Parliament on the work in her department

Egin 4.10.85 : 21 'Oinez' (Sponsored walk in favour of Euskera) in Navarra.

" : 22 11% increase a year in the number of Euskera learners in AEK (Co-ordination of Euskaldinisation and Literacy).

Deia " : 10 An association to promote the pro-Euskera movements (including the association of 'ikastolas' in Iparralde) (Interview).

Deia 6.10.85 : 10 Complaint about absence of the language activism evident in the past.

Egin 7.10.85 : 1 80,000 people in 'Kilometroak 85'.

Letters

Correo 8.10.85 : Teachers of Euskera. Disagreement on requisite for teachers.

Egin 9.10.85 : Castilian Basque Television? No, thank you.

1986

Correo 11.10.86 : 39 Debate on a recently published book:
Conflicto en Euskadi. J.J. Linz.

Correo 12.10.86 : 45 Presentation of the book by J.J. Linz:
Conflicto en Euskadi.

Correo 13.10.86 : 21 Discriminatory Bill of Euskera. Complaint by P.N.V. (Basque Nationalist party) in Navarra.

Correo 15.10.86 : 14 E.E. (Euskadiko Ezkerra party) offers alternative to the Bill on Euskera in Navarra.

- Correo 15.10.86 : 41 Presentation of Linz's book stimulated debate on the current situation.
- Correo 16.10.86 : 78 Basque television attended Sardinia Congress on Mass Media and Minority Languages.
 " A school in Barakaldo will take the Education Regional Council to court over a dispute over the language model at school. (18)
 " : 21 The UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) (trade union) of Education expresses support for the language 'B' option.
- Correo 17.10.86 : The father of a student taking the 'B' option goes on hunger strike.
 " The Bill of Euskera in Navarra is a first step towards its consolidation.
- Correo 18.10.86 : 29 The Basque Nationalist Party demands the withdrawal of legal restrictions on Euskera presented by the Delegates of the Spanish Government.
 " Leioa Town Council supports language option 'B'
 " Campaign for Basque literacy by Basque Government.
 " EEC should give help to the television services of minorised languages.

Letters

- 10.10.86
Euskera y Castellano. (J.L.) : "Is it possible that without having rights, Euskera will be made compulsory for obtaining a job in an official body?"
- 15.10.86
Enseñanza del Euskera (P.P.) : Teaching of unified Basque denigrating for Biscayans.
- 21.10.86
Batua y vizcaino (M.A.de L) - answer to the previous letter: Defence of learning Euskera, either form, since in a short period of time the other form can be learnt.

18. See 'Boletín Oficial del País Vasco', N°108, 19.7.1983.

Language Options in Primary Education:

"A" = All subjects in Castilian except the Basque Language.

"B" = Reading, Writing and Mathematics in Castilian and the other subjects in the Basque Language.

"D" = All subjects in the Basque language except the Castilian Language.

Language Options in Secondary Education:

"A" = All subjects except Modern Languages and the Basque Language in Castilian.

"D" = All subjects except Modern Languages and the Castilian Language in Euskera.

1987

Correo	7.4.87	:	9	The 'ikastolas' define their conditions for integration into the Public School net.
Correo	9.4.87	:	10	'Korrika' (sponsored walk in favour of Euskera)
	"	:	10	The coach of Bilbao Basket Ball team, who considers 'Korrika' a good initiative, defends the recovery of Euskera.
Correo	10.4.87	:	13	Former Education 'Consejero' defends a model of education: popular, Basque, open and autonomous.
Correo	11.4.87	:	16	'Korrika'.
	"	:	16	Euskera, a topic banned in the prisons of the Basque Country.

From a summary overview of the sketchy impression provided by the above data a noticeable change can be detected between 1979 and 1986/1987. In the latter period there are several instances of reference to legal actions over language matters. This seems to have been a key change over the years. Complementary information on this subject is found in the letter on 'Euskera y Castellano' (10.10.86). Both instances only reflect an attitude which had already been manifest in far reaching disagreements over legal matters. An example can be seen in judgements by the Supreme Court (S.T.S.¹⁹ 25.1.84 and 3.5.84) that concluded that it was discriminatory against Castilian-speaking candidates for posts to award more merit points to those candidates with a knowledge of Basque. This attitude shows a departure from the spirit of the law where there was mention of Euskera as an 'integrative' element. In the present case it is viewed as a 'dividing' factor, with no evidence of empathy towards those who, by being served by bilingual civil servants,

19. Sentencia del Tribunal Supremo.

would be offered the chance to effectively make use of Euskera. The converse implies the maintenance of a 'de facto' diglossic situation whereby Euskera speakers have the right but not the opportunity to use the Basque language.

On a more positive note, in both cases, the involvement of the population in 'pro-Euskera' activities is recorded. Also the change from reports on 'methods for learning Euskera' to the mention of Basque television²⁰, indicates a shift from the early position of the language at classroom level to a more pervasive presence in everyday life²¹.

1.4 Summary

One final comment is needed on the information set out above.

Despite the fact that Euskera has obtained official language status and there are signs that it is becoming more widely used in the community, its use will only be normalised when members of that community are persuaded of the value of its use. Normalisation cannot be achieved by legal measures alone, such as enforced monolingualism or decreed bilingualism.

This same attitude seems to be implied in the summary of a Lecture given by Mgr. Setién, Bishop of San Sebastián²², who declared his conviction that:

20. See: Zufía (1984): 'Euskera y Audiencia de Medios de Comunicación'.

21. See: Marañón (1984): 'Recuperación y Retroceso del Euskera a la luz del Censo'; Cartwright (1987) for geolinguistic analysis using the Basque and non-Basque census populations.

22. University of the Basque Country. San Sebastián Summer Course: 'La lectura de los valores éticos desde Euzkadi', (Correo 4.9.1985:15).

"La construcción de un pueblo no se hace a golpe de decisión política, ni con la imposición de una revolución, sino que hace falta la voluntad del propio pueblo y unos valores que justifiquen la solidaridad".

("The construction of a community is not made by means of political decisions, nor by the imposition of a revolution. The will of the people and the values that justify solidarity are necessary".)

Analysis of newspapers, and even of the minimal sample recorded, seems to point to a stage, after official recognition of the language, crucial for the community which is being faced with a challenge: the problem of shifting from 'legal bilingualism' (in some cases counter to the wishes of some of the citizens) to 'voluntary bilingualism', (i.e. the bilingualism must be desired or accepted by the citizens and backed up by legislation).

Some of the evidence given above seems to be at variance with what some people at present perceive to be a proper course of action towards a more satisfactory 'settling',²³ of the situation. Their view is reflected in the titles of such articles as: 'Por qué no se aplica la ley de normalización del Euskera?' (Why is the law on normalisation of Euskera not implemented?) (I.A.: Deia: 9.4.1986:14), or 'En aplicación de la ley de normalización del uso del Euskera' (On the implementation ...) (E.B.: Deia: 15.4.1986: 15) and Editorials such as 'Votar en Euskera' (Voting in Euskera) (Deia: 7.3.1986) or 'Euskera y Medios Informativos' (Euskera and Mass Media) (Deia: 22.3.1986:17). Such language reflects the attitude of eagerness that is present in a

23. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, 'settling' implies an attitude of permanent readiness to reappraise the situation in search of equilibrium.

section of the community. Only recently the new Consejero of Education, J.R. Recalde, on taking up his post, declared:

"Mi idea es correr lo suficiente como para que los conflictos no me adelanten. Pero no se puede garantizar ese resultado en un mundo tan movido como el de la enseñanza".

("My idea is to run fast enough not to be overtaken by conflicts. However, this result cannot be guaranteed in such an agitated world as that of education") (El País: 31.3.1987: 8 Sup.).

Perhaps the term 'suficiente' (=enough) is at the core of the debate. Different meanings are attached to the term in the community according to the eagerness or reluctance of those involved in the process. However, if as forecast by C. Santamaría, a former 'Consejero' of Education (Interview to C.S.: Deia: 13.10.1979), a period of 15 to 20 years will be necessary for Euskera to become ingrained in society then some concrete course of action must be adopted without delay.

Taking into account the interests and feelings of all those involved in such sensitive issues, mention of other titles of articles may indicate a possible line of action: 'Bilingüismo Oficial Insuficiente' (Official bilingualism is not enough) (J.R.S.: Deia: 6.6.1986:12); 'Bilingüismo como consenso social' (Bilingualism as social consensus) (Deia: 4.6.1986:10) 'El Euskera como Elemento Integrador' (Euskera as an integrating device) (Deia: 13.2.1986:14); 'Euskera: ¿Obligatoriedad? ¿Discriminación? ¡Afecto!' (Euskera: Compulsory? Discrimination? Affection!) (Deia: 9.4.1986:6).

This approach would overcome the boundaries of strict legal measures and appeal to the will of the community to

seek a desired consensus. Finally it is necessary to stress once again that the basic task amidst all this mixture of opinions is to agree on the search for solutions as a normal activity in the management of the community's affairs where the interests of all matter.

Therefore confrontation must be avoided and a possible start would be in the use of less contentious terminology than some of that used in the materials just mentioned.

CHAPTER 2

Background : Early Views

2.1 Introduction

When discussing theoretical and methodological approaches - historical, sociocultural and situational - to the study of the cause of prejudice, Allport wrote in 1954:

"...We insist only that any pattern of prejudice existing in any part of the world receives marked illumination when it is examined from the historical point of view."
(1966 : 211)

Therefore, when attempting an exploration of possible stereotypes in a community, information of a historical nature is a necessary prerequisite for a more complete understanding of context.

The aim of this chapter is to complement, to a certain extent, that information presented in Chapter 1, offering a background to the Basque language and its speakers as perceived by natives and strangers. The selection of opinions in this chapter is random but it does cover some of the aspects that have been present historically in the literature dealing with the Basque people and their language.

In the first section some comments on the position of the language are included, together with testimonies that offer information on specific areas and domains of use in the past.

2.2 Comments on the state of the Basque language.

2.2.1 The 'agony' of the Basque language

As far back as the 16th century, B. Detxepare, the author of the first known book in Basque, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545) expressed his wish that the Basque language should have its own literature. Since then writers on the topic of the precarious position of Euskera have made constant reference to him, expressing the view that this state of affairs is partly due to the lack of a well-founded literary tradition in the past¹. Another virtually mandatory testimony found in articles dealing with the same topic (Urquijo, 1919; Garriga, 1951, etc.) is that of Pedro de Madariaga². In 1565 he included the following in his 'Honra de Escribanos':

"yo no puedo dexar de tomar un poco de cólera con mis Vizcaynos, porque no se sirven de ella en cartas y negocios: y dan ocasión a muchos a pensar que no se puede escrevir haviendo libros impresos en esta lengua"(3)

(I cannot but feel some anger with my Biscayans, because they do not employ it [Euskera] in their letters and transactions; and they offer the opportunity for many to think that it is not possible to write in it even though there are books printed in this language).

His words were to become the leit-motif running through comments on the topic for the next 500 years.

Similar feelings of anger to Madariaga's are often apparent in discussions on the state of the language, not to

1. Cf. the discussion on the false maintenance of parity between 'non-literary' as equivalent to 'uncultured' (Anonymous: BIAEV, 1963, 7, 54, 126-136).

2. See: Akesolo (1986) on 'Pedro de Madariaga'.

3. Taken from Urquijo (1919).

mention that of the literature and the writers in Euskera⁴.

With regard to the writers, blame is often placed on the adversary circumstances in society which are described as of 'deathly persecution', the 'via-crucis' of the writer in Basque, and similar cruel terms (Azurmendi, 1977). With regard to the state of the language, however, the situation was made worse by the following fact: it was not only strangers who cooperated in helping Euskera to this state, but its own speakers too. Echegaray⁵ voiced his indignation in these terms:

"...es en la escuela⁶ donde han aprendido los niños vascos, no sólo a olvidar el verbo de su raza, sino a menospreciarle por grosero, por bárbaro, por inservible para los afanes de la cultura. Y no data de hoy ni de un próximo ayer esta inicua persecucion, ni son los extraños al país los únicos que han inferido tamaño agravio a la amada lengua"
(1931 : 34)(7)

("...it is at school where the Basque children have learnt not only to forget the speech of the race, but to despise it as rude, barbarian and useless for cultural enterprises. And this iniquitous persecution is not recent and it is not only strangers to the country who have inflicted such an offence on our beloved language").

Some years earlier, the founder of the 'Escuelas de Barriada' (District Schools) and a Primary Inspector,

4. See Azurmendi (1977) in his Introduction to Torrealday, J.M.: **Euskal Idazleak Gaur** (Historia Social de la lengua y Literatura Vascas). 1977. Arantzazu. Jakin-Oñati.

5. B. de Echegaray (1878-1956). Lawyer and member of the Academy of the Basque Language who, in articles in magazines and reviews ('Euskal-Erria', 'Euskalzale', 'Euskalerriaren-alde', 'Yakintza', ...) showed his knowledge of the Law particular to the Basque people, and of the Basque language. In 1932 he was appointed a member of the commission set up to elaborate the Basque 'Estatuto' of Autonomy.

6. Cf. Vendryes (1921 : 331): "C'est à l'école que la lutte se prépare; mais c'est dans le commerce de la vie que la victoire se gagne". "En la escuela es donde se prepara la lucha; pero en la realidad de la vida es donde se gana la victoria" (1958 : 296). (It is at school where the battle is prepared; but it is in real life where victory is obtained).

7. The text of this lecture was published in 1934.

Eleizalde⁸, had made the same point:

"...La inconsciencia de los vascos de aquellas edades llegó hasta desconocer totalmente la importancia que para un pueblo reviste la conservación de su idioma propio(9), el signo más característico de su personalidad"

(1918 : 868)

("The lack of awareness of those Basques in those times was so great that they ignored the importance that the preservation of their own language has for a people, since it is the most characteristic sign of its personality").

This particular comment highlighted the unique character of the Basque people in terms of language, a theme which was to be *often* taken up by later researchers. One of these, the eminent ethnographer, Barandiarán¹⁰, pointed out that linguists and ethnographers alike were agreed that Euskera was specific to the Basque community. It has no links with any other known language, nor was it used by any other people. Therefore, it constituted one of the original 'elements' or defining characteristics of the Basque people, and had repercussions on these elements of culture for which language acts as the vehicle (1963 : 252).

Similar complaints to Eleizalde's can be traced in Olano's work in 1933 when he compared the situation of other bilingual communities. He divided them into four categories

8. L. de Eleizalde (1873-1923). Besides his important pedagogical contribution, he also collaborated in RIEV and was Director of the newspaper 'Euzkadi'. In 1918 he was elected as a founder member to the Academy of the Basque Language.

9. Cf. Smolicz (1980): Language as a Core Value of Culture.

10. J.M. de Barandiarán (1889-). One of the most important and brilliant contributors to the study and knowledge of the Basque people. He was a founder of the Society of Basque Studies (1918), member of both the Academy of the Basque and Spanish languages and of numerous Folklore Societies. His vast production on ethnography, anthropology and prehistorical research has been published in many books and innumerable newspapers, reviews and journals at home and abroad. His outstanding contribution to the knowledge of Basque folklore by intensive field work, recording and transcribing oral legends, myths and sayings, and carrying out extensive studies on the particular phonetics of the samples is still being continued at the age of almost 100.

according to the relationship established between the languages in the community¹¹: a) the second language prevailing over the mother tongue, b) the mother tongue being given preference over the second language, c) countries with a historic and social bilingual tradition, d) bilingual countries with official exclusion of the second language - Catalonia and Euzkadi¹². He concluded:

"...Nuestra patria es la más desgraciada en este problema de defensa de su lengua en el campo legal y en el práctico. Mucha culpa la tenemos los mismos vascos. A pesar de tener una lengua tan interesante, tan rica, tan característica y tan apreciada y estudiada por los sabios extranjeros, nosotros la hemos tenido casi abandonada"

(1933 :340)

("Our country is the most wretched one in the defence of its language in either the legal or the practical field. Much of the blame is to be put on the Basques. Although possessing such an interesting, rich and specific tongue, appreciated and investigated by foreign learned men, we have almost abandoned it".)

Campion¹³ and Broussain¹⁴, investigating this process of decline in 1920 were more specific in pointing to one particular sector of the population rather than the population

11. Cf. Kloss (1976): 'Types of Multilingual Communities'; Gumperz (1972); Stewart (1972).

12. Cf. Falch (1973): *Contribution à l'étude du statut des langues en Europe*.

13. Campion, A. (1854-1937). Member of the Academy of the Basque Language, President of the Society of Basque Studies created in Oñate (Bizkaia) in 1918, until his death, and member of the Academy of History, Political and Moral Sciences and of the Spanish Language.

His list of books and articles is too vast to be detailed but in all of them is present the motto printed in his books: "Euskalerrriaren Alde" (= In favour of the Basque Country). His production covers topics on Law, Language and Literature. As a sample: *Consideraciones acerca de la cuestión foral y los carlistas en Navarra* (1878); *Gramática Bascongada de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara* (1884); *La personalidad euskara en la historia, el derecho y la literatura* (1901); *Orígenes del pueblo euskaldun* (1910); *De las lenguas y singularmente de la baska como instrumento de investigación* (1919). He published 3 volumes on the *Orígenes del pueblo euskaldun*, in 1925, 1931 and 1936, the last one at the age of 82 years. There are also important short stories and novels including: *Euskariana* and *Blancos y Negros*.

14. Broussain, P. (1869-1920). A member of the Academy of the Basque Language from Lapurdi who, in his concern for the future and unification of Euskera elaborated a report with Campion on its standardisation in 1920.

as a whole. When mentioning some of the causes that had brought language to its present state of prostration in their report to the Royal Academy of the Basque Language on the unification of Euskera they included not only the increasing poverty of Euskera's vocabulary, and the multiplicity of dialects, but also, and of primary importance:

"La esquivéz o menosprecio con que las clases altas le miran"

(1920 : 336)

("The haughtiness and disdain with which the upper classes look upon it").

Only a few years later, in 1935, Solano pointed in another direction when identifying causes of the decline. He wrote:

"...La absurda desafección de muchos de nuestros antepasados por el idioma de la raza; desprecio que tenía su máxima expresión en nuestros organismos oficiales que teniendo en sus manos todos los resortes de la enseñanza no supieron jamás servirse de ellos, en provecho de nuestra verdadera cultura literaria, que en nada más que en Euzkera tiene razón de ser".

(1935 : 197)

("...The absurd lack of interest of many of our elders about the language of the race; disdain which had its extreme expression in our official bodies which, having in their hands all the resources of education, did not know how to make use of them for the benefit of our true literary culture whose only legitimate existence would be in the Basque language".)

This complacency, or lack of vision, was highlighted by the linguist Mitxelena¹⁵, almost 40 years later, and put into a wider context in which the protection of language was only

15. Mitxelena, K. (1915-1988). Member of the Academy of the Basque Language and of the Spanish Language and Director of the Seminar of Basque Philology 'Julio de Urquijo' and of the review 'Egan'. He has collaborated on many other journals: 'Euskera', 'Jakín', ... In his books he investigates the phonetics, literature and grammar of Euskera, present and past. For example: *Hª de la Literatura Vasca* (1958), *Fonética vasca* (1961), *Lenguas y protolenguas* (1963), *Textos arcaicos vascos* (1964), *Sobre el pasado de la lengua vasco*, *Idazlan hautatuak* (1972), etc.

one aspect of the whole spectrum since:

"La falta de previsión ha sido, a mi entender, característica constante de nuestra vida política, en el sentido más amplio de la palabra"

(1971 : 324)

("The lack of foresight has been, in my view, a constant feature of our political life in the largest sense of the word".)

While many writers wrote about the cause of the decline, it was Eleizalde (1918) who concluded his acknowledgement of responsibility for the decline with the constructive proposal that Euskera should be restored to the life of the country. He wrote:

"...Hay que decirlo porque es la verdad: ese poco interés que los vascos han mostrado por la educación y la instrucción de su pueblo, ese interés tan escaso que casi puede calificarse de abandono total, de culpable negligencia, es una de las mayores manchas de nuestra historia, es la principal causa de nuestra decadencia política y social, es la más urgente reparación que nosotros los vascos del siglo XX debemos a nuestro país y a nuestra raza".

(1918 : 868)

("...This must be said because it is the truth: that little interest that the Basques have shown in the education and instruction of their people, that scarce interest which could be considered as wilful negligence is one of the great blemishes in our history, it is the main contributory cause of our political and social decadence, and it is the most urgent reparation that we Basques of the c20th owe to our country and our race".)

Two testimonies from two foreign visitors more than a hundred years before the opinions of the writers above were expressed, corroborate complacency on the part of the Basque speakers at the erosion of the use of Basque in public life in one of the county's most representative institutions. One, that of Humboldt, appeared in a report of his 1801 tour

of the Basque country and the Juntas Generales de Guernica ('Parliament')):

"... en las Juntas Generales mismas domina, sin embargo, una casi ilimitada libertad y un verdadero espíritu de independencia, y la presencia del corregidor no impide que cada cual diga libremente su opinión. En muchos casos también se ausenta él, y a menudo se habla en vascuence, que él no comprende. Hasta hace él mismo leer en ambos idiomas en muchos casos los memoriales en discusiones de interés general".

(1801 : 161)(16)

(...In the Parliament there is an almost unlimited liberty, however, and a true spirit of independence and the presence of the 'Corregidor' does not prevent anybody from expressing their opinion freely. Also, the corregidor often withdraws and Basque, which the latter does not understand is frequently spoken. In discussions of general interest he even requires the memoranda to be read in both languages").

The second, only 35 years later, came in Lord Carnarvon's description of the Basque Country:

"The debates are public, and the measures submitted to their considerations are proposed in Spanish, but discussed in the Basque language".

(1836 : 323)

("...[el Parlamento]... los debates son públicos, y los proyectos sometidos a la consideración son propuestos en castellano, pero discutidos en lengua vasca".(17)

It is worth noting here that in both cases Castilian is mentioned as fulfilling the role of 'official' language, while Euskera is assigned a 'functional' role in discussion, but not in official proposals. It is no surprise therefore that Humboldt later concludes that Euskera will decline along the same lines as other languages already lost

16. Translated and quoted by Garate, mentioning that it is a different version from Aranzadi's.

17. Translation taken from Irujo, M. de (1945): *Inglaterra y los Vascos* (p. 194) where ample and documented discussion of the situation of the Basque country at the time is offered in its relations with the British Government using, among others, Lord Carnarvon's Report.

(Prussian, Cornish):

"... en menos de un siglo habrá desaparecido quizás el vascuence de la serie de lenguas vivas".

(1801 : 13)

(...In less than a century the Basque language will have perhaps disappeared from the range of living languages".)

The uncertain and precarious state of Euskera is repeatedly compared by different writers to a long-suffering illness, without an optimistic prognosis.

Iturriaga, the pedagogue and writer, in 1830, and Garaikoetxea, the former President of the Basque Country, in 1985, both used the same word to describe the state of the language: 'Agonía'. The interpretation in Spanish of 'Agonía' implies the idea of struggle and not only passive decay, although writers who use the term almost unanimously select the idea of unavoidable disappearance. The comments of some of these writers even belong to those who forecast impending irreversible disaster¹⁸.

Iturriaga considered that perhaps by cultivating Castilian at the same time as Euskera both languages would benefit, but principally the latter, so that it would be recovered in those villages

"Donde ahora está agonizando, y en momentos de expirar" (19).

("where it is now involved in its agonising struggle and about to die".)

18. Cf. Skutnabb-Kangas (1987): 'Linguicism in Education, or How to Kill a People without Genocide'.

19. Iturriaga, glosado por Lasa (1965 : 196).

Elorza²⁰, when introducing Eleizalde at a meeting in 1918 on the problem of education in the Basque country compared to other countries (Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Bohemia, ...), stressed the need for controlling the educational system:

"si queremos salvar nuestro idioma, si queremos salvar nuestras costumbres, y si queremos en una palabra, salvar a Vasconia"

(1918 : 865)

("if we wish to save our language, our customs, and in a word, Vasconia").

His words were reaffirmed by Eleizalde in his exposition and the final judgement on the situation was

"Hemos sobrevivido, por consiguiente, por puro milagro"

(1918 : 868)

("Therefore, we have survived by a miracle").

Urquijo, only a year later, in 1919, insisted that the Basque language was at risk and spoke of

"Nuestro islote²¹ lingüístico, amenazado por los embates del océano románico que le circunda"

(1919 : 165)

("Our linguistic island, threatened by the beating of the ocean of Romance languages that surrounds it"),

and spoke of its increasing recession.

Altube²², in 1933, expanded this idea of decline in a

20. Elorza, J. (1878-1964). Politician and President of the Society of Basque Studies. Since 1918 when he worked in the organisation of the First Congress of Basque Studies, he took part in all the activities in favour of Euskalerria. His contribution to the elaboration of the Project of 'Estatuto' of Autonomy of the Basque State concluded on May 31st 1931 was outstanding.

21. There was an insistence on the term 'Isla' as not only referring to the language, but also to the ethnic group. See Basabe (1979).

22. Altube, S. (1879-1963). Musician, philologist, philosopher and writer in Euskera, Castilian and French. A member of the Academy of the Basque Language since 1920, he defended the option of a literary Euskera with an authentic foundation and as little as possible introduction of words and idioms artificially elaborated. His works on language deal with syntax, morphology, Basque vocabulary, the accent in Basque, the 'life' of Euskera and its unification.

lengthy article entitled 'La vida del Euskera' and insisted on expressing his prognosis in fatalistic terms:

"...estamos, pues, ante un idioma vivo pero atacado de grave enfermedad, que puede conducirlo a la muerte, si es que no le aplicamos remedios adecuados y eficaces".

(1933 : 283)

("We are in the presence of a living language, attacked by a serious illness which may lead it to its final death, unless we put into practice effective and appropriate remedies").

If the situation was thought to be critical three years before the war, the post-war period surpassed the limits of a catastrophe. When evaluating the years between 1939 and 1947, Lafitte²³ considered that it was one of the most terrible times for the Basque language. He described the situation in the following terms:

"...La période à étudier est un des moments les plus terribles qu'ait eu à traverser notre pauvre langue basque... Depuis 1936 le basque y a été persécuté avec une véritable rage: il a été interdit dans la presse, à l'école, à l'église et jusque dans la rue".

(1947 : 11)(24)

("The period under study is one of the most terrible that our poor Basque language has undergone ... Since 1936 Euskera has been persecuted with real rage: it has been forbidden in the Press, school, church and even in the streets!").

23. Lafitte, P. (1901-1985). Writer and promoter of the Basque culture in Iparralde, in the French area. Founder of the review 'Aintzina' (1934), he started a new edition of it in 1940 and in 1944 of 'Herria'. He entered the Academy of the Basque Language in 1949 and among his many works is his remarkable **Grammaire basque (Navarro-laburdin littéraire)** published in Bayonne in 1944.

24. Mitxelena was to point out a more critical period of danger of extinction. Although he described the history of the Basque language after the c10th as a slow, dark recession, and since the end of the last century under the threat of a large massive immigration of speakers of another language, the only moment when, in his view, the risk of disappearance was IMMINENT was in Roman times (1971 : 324).

For Altube, the most critical period for the life of the language would be found in the period after the last Carlist war (1872-1876), where the primary schools even in the most remote hamlets were run by Castilian teachers who would use only Castilian, in an attempt at the Castilization of society via primary education. (1933 : 261).

However, Barandiarán preferred to identify a continuous process of being under threat from earliest times to his time of writing. He wrote:

"The states which have come into being in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees during historic times, have displayed a constant inclination to suppress the peculiarities of the Basque people, which have been accentuated since the middle of the last century".

(1946 : 122)

Documentary evidence of the threat during the post-war period is plentiful as in any situation where the ideology of the educational policy is the total suppression of a language from school. Furthermore, this suppression was reinforced and complemented in the rest of the activities of everyday life by repressive attitudes and actions which, seen in the perspective of the years gone by, only reaffirm the discredit of the bodies in charge and of those responsible for implementing such deeds. Currently more than 40 years later, people still talk of such practices as belonging to a period where the use of the Basque language was a sure cause not only of trouble but also of different types of denigration and punishment²⁵.

Tournier²⁶, another linguist from the French Basque-speaking area, reflected on the difficult situation of Euskera which was due not only to the lack of official support mentioned by Lafitte, but also to the pressure of the surrounding dialects. He spoke in very much the same

25. For a brief summary of Linguistic Policy under Francoism, see Torrealday (1984).

For a more general discussion of the Francoist period and after see: Hottinger (1974); García de Cortázar (1980); Williams (1982); Greenwood (1982).

26. Tournier, Ch.G. (1890-1965). He collaborated in several reviews such as 'Eusko Jakintza', 'Herria', 'Bulletin de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de Bayonne' and in the *Léxique français-basque* with P. Lafitte, published in 1953.

terms as Urquijo thirty years earlier:

"...notre belle, ancienne et noble langue, qui jusqu'à présent, avait résisté tel un îlot solide à l'assaut des dialects qui l'entourent, montre maintenant des signes navrants d'usure".

(1950 : 159)

("Our beautiful, noble and ancient language that until now had resisted like a solid island the attack of the surrounding dialects, shows terrible signs of wearing out".

However, comparatively few years later, in 1966, there was a new vision of the situation, one that was expressed in the declaration of the Royal Academy of the Basque language - Euskaltzaindia - in a document addressed to the Minister of Education (1966) as follows:

"...El hecho social que el uso de dicho idioma representa, no tiene el adecuado reflejo en los preceptos y disposiciones de orden legal o reglamentario que hacen relación a la enseñanza y una gran parte de la población del País Vasco, desea muy fundadamente, se arbitre por vía oficial algún procedimiento que permita el acceso de la lengua vasca a las escuelas y centros de instrucción en general".

(1966 : 93)

("...The social fact that the actual use of the language represents is not adequately reflected in the legal or official orders which relate to teaching, and a large sector of the population of the Basque country wishes very rightly for an official proceeding that allows the access of the Basque language to schools and centres of education in general".

The use of the Basque language in everyday activities was also mentioned in 1975 in a Pastoral letter from the Archbishopric of Pamplona. There was an acknowledgement of this fact among part of the population in Navarra although there was a further comment:

"...en los últimos tiempos el euskera ha sufrido un retroceso alarmante"

(1975 : 21)

("Lately the Basque language has suffered an alarming recession).

Another comment in relation to the dichotomy mentioned by Euskaltza²⁷india was made by Irigaray²⁷ in the same context in Navarre. He referred to the need for

"afirmación de nuestra lengua Euskara, dada la grave marginación que sufre en Navarra"
(1977 : 240)

(Reaffirming our Basque language given its very marginal use in Navarra)(28).

In 1982, the same year as the Law of Normalisation, Scheifler, in a series of newspaper articles, dealt again with the same idea of decline expressed by the previous authors. Under the title of '¿Quién puede salvar al Euskera?' (Who can save Euskera?) he stressed the idea that:

"...el Euskera es un enfermo, con su peculiaridad incluso en su dolencia, pero un enfermo grave, ¿no se debe tener la actitud diligente y creativa con que se rodea al padre o madre queridos cuya vida se quiere prolongar y cuya muerte, si pudiéramos, alejaríamos para siempre?".

(1982 : 2)

("Euskera is ailing in its own peculiar way even in its weakness, and seriously in danger. Should there not be taken towards it the same diligent and creative attitude with which beloved parents are surrounded and whose life one would like to extend trying to keep death away, if possible, for ever?").

Finally, coming full circle to the original description of 'agonía' by Iturriaga, more than a hundred and fifty years earlier, Garaikoetxea, former President of the Basque Government, wrote an article in 1985 under the title of 'La Agonía del Castellano'. In this he mentioned what he

27. Irigaray, A. (1899-1984). Member of the Academy of the Basque Language and contributor in different journals and reviews: RIEV, 'Yakintza', 'Príncipe de Viana', 'Egan', BRSBAP. In 1933 he was the Delegate of the section on primary education in the Society of Basque Studies. Among his works are a brief history of the Basque literature and *Geografía lingüística de Navarra* (1960).

28. For a 'direct' expression of the situation of Euskera in Navarre, see: *Euskara Heriotz Bidean*, Iruñako Requete Irratian izan dako saioak (April 11-15, 1983), a series of radio interviews which covered different topics of the situation and attitudes.

considered was a prevailing attitude in certain sections of the political circles in the Basque country:

"...un párrafo, como tantos otros que circulan ultimamente, porque refleja fielmente toda una actitud que ya hace furor en determinados ambientes del país, para ser más claro: que tiene ecos constantes en los partidos estatales con presencia en Euskadi, cada vez que ven la oportunidad de referirse al Euskara en debates parlamentarios o situaciones propicias para lanzar una embestida a nuestro maltrecho idioma".

(1985)

("... a paragraph like many others lately in circulation, because it reflects faithfully a 'band wagon' attitude in certain sectors of the country; that is, which constantly finds an echo in the state parties present in Euskadi, every time they get an opportunity of referring to Euskera in the Parliamentary Debates or in the appropriate situation to launch an attack on our ailing language".)

The situation as reflected in the article had been reversed in the opinion of some. Garaikoetxea exposed the complaint of those 'fearing' for the fate of Castilian. He pointed out the 'healthy' state of this language as measured against other things by the time of exposure on TV and radio stations, other mass media, the administration and education systems, etc. He added that if this favourable situation for Castilian was compared to the humble and limited efforts made to redress the situation of unjust treatment suffered over the years by Euskera, any possible threats to the fate of Castilian could be seen as coming from hypocrisy rather than conviction. Finally, he concluded that ignorance rather than any other term explained the remarks which had prompted his article. These were, that certain protective measures in favour of Euskera might provoke the same reactions as those made towards other government impositions under Franco's dictatorship.

To conclude, having looked at some opinions expressed above reiterating the difficult situation of the language at different times, we can turn to the prognosis made by Vendryes in 1914 about Breton. This seems to provide a cautious view *about* there ever being a final verdict. His warning was:

"On peut prévoir la disparition du breton. Mais il ne faut pas se hâter de l'annoncer. Le breton est encore très vivace"

(1921 : 337)

("The final disappearance of Breton may, therefore, be predicted; but we need be in no hurry to announce its disappearance prematurely. Breton is still very much alive".

(1925 : 286) (29)

2.2.2 A Complementary vision of the situation

In the case of the Basque language some comments seem to reflect this same attitude, of being 'vivace', coexisting, even if to a lesser degree, with a more pessimistic view. Looking back to the period 1939 to 1947, Lafitte, even if he considered that it was one of the worst times Euskera had known, concluded his appraisal of the situation with a hopeful remark, even if other times were also remembered.

"... Il n'est pas trop tard pour sauver et même développer l'euskara

(1947 : 13)

"... en huit ans les écrivains actuels ont beaucoup plus produit en basque et pour le basque que tous les écrivains du XVII^e siècle en cent ans. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de désespérer"

(1947 : 20)

29. Cf. the translation into Spanish = "Puede preverse la desaparición; pero no hay que precipitarse en anunciarla, el Bretón es (está?) todavía muy vivo" (1958 : 300).

("It is not too late to save and even develop Euskera ...

"... In eight years present day writers have produced much more in Basque than all the authors of the 18th century in a hundred years.

Therefore there is no reason to despair".)

Only a few years later a more detached analysis was offered by Jump (1952) who, having witnessed the survival of Basque culture, concluded that the diagnosis of Euskera as a dying language was unduly pessimistic and he offered an alternative view: change rather than death.

This view was shared by Mitxelena who saw change as implicit in the survival of the language. The fact that Euskera has survived, in the face of the exacting demands of adaptation to today's world, meant that its capacity to meet the challenge of survival was beyond question. However, he believed that an 'accommodation' would be required in the language as part of a more ample process:

"Con la transformación cada vez más rápida del mundo actual, es difícil que el vascuence, como otros elementos de la cultura tradicional del pueblo vasco, pueda subsistir sin sufrir una profunda acomodación a los nuevos modos de vida".

(1963 : 686)

("With the ever increasing and faster transformation of the present day world, it is difficult for Euskera, as for other elements of the traditional Basque culture to subsist without undergoing a profound accommodation to the new ways of life".)

When discussing the lack of interest and promotion of the language to meet the requirements of the times, most authors tended to agree with the view that it was more a question of ignorance and lack of awareness on the part of the speakers than of any other contributory factor. Urquijo, however, had already mentioned a different feeling

also present, at the beginning of the century:

"Los vascos, en su casi totalidad, son, decididos partidarios de la conservación de su antigua lengua, y la media docena escasa de escritores que se separan de este unánime sentir lo hacen, bien porque estudian el problema con los ahumados anteojos de una política estrecha y circunstancial, bien porque suponen que la conservación del vascuence constituye una rémora para la cultura del país".

(1919 : 172)

("The Basques, almost in their entirety are determined supporters of the preservation of their old language and the scarce half dozen who do not share this unanimous feeling act either because they study the problem under a narrow and temporary policy, or because they suppose that the conservation of Euskera is a handicap for the culture of the country".)

Four decades later Mitxelena summed up what was the more generalized opinion:

"... Los vascos, además, siempre se han mostrado muy orgullosos de su lengua, pero no se han preocupado tanto de cultivarla, a lo que, sin duda, ha contribuido la falta de centros superiores de cultura en el país".

(1963 : 686)

("The Basques, have always shown their pride in their language, but they have not concerned themselves to the same extent to cultivate it, to which the lack of higher education centres has also made its contribution".)

It is worth noting here another vital aspect that will be discussed later: the lack of educational facilities at all levels in Euskera. There does seem to have been a reaction showing concern towards the language for this was mentioned on several occasions over the years. Urquijo, for one, after making a resounding declaration such as:

"No se concibe la clasificación de los vascos, en vascófilos y vascófobos"

(1919 : 172)

("A classification of Basque into bascophiles and bascophones cannot be conceived".)

continued to present this optimistic vision:

"... A la antigua apatía de muchos vascos, indiferentes ante el paulatino, pero constante retroceso del idioma de nuestros mayores, sucede hoy un estado de opinión más reflexivo y más consciente, que reclama medidas enérgicas y efectivas que eviten, si es posible, la desaparición...".
(1919 : 165)

("To the previous apathy of many Basques, indifferent to the slow but continuous recession of the language of our elders, there now follows a more reflective and alert state of opinion that reclaims more effective and decisive measures to avoid, if possible, the disappearance [of Basque]...".)

And, exactly 50 years later, Placer mentioned that "the reaction of the Bascophiles is bearing its fruit" (1969 : 12), writing in an article whose title, most appropriately, was, 'The Basque language lives on'.

As Tournier had already pointed out twenty years earlier, the fact was that some action for protecting the language was already being taken.

"Les remèdes ... ils sont nombreux et déjà, pour, une grande part, entrés en application ...".
(1949 : 93)

("The remedies are numerous and to a large extent they are already being implemented...".)

2.2.3 Priorities for a course of action

In this section we shall examine the remedies suggested over the years to overcome some of the causes of concern that troubled those who were worried about Euskera. The opinions seemed to be centred on topics such as autonomy, involvement of the speakers, a 'standard' written language and the presence of Euskera in school.

2.2.3.1 Self-government

Allendesalazar³⁰ had already voiced this feeling for 'self-government' in 1878 in the Basque country. In his address to the University of Madrid he stated:

"Descentralización administrativa, autonomía local, gobierno del pueblo por el pueblo, 'self-government', en suma, he aquí lo que quiere el país Euskaro".

(1878 : 398)

("Administrative decentralisation, local autonomy, government of the people by the people, briefly 'self-government' that is what the Basque country wants".)

Years later, but only shortly before the Spanish Civil War, when tensions within the Basque community as well as those between it and the central government were high, Ariztimuño³¹ articulated the desire for self-government in far less terse terms. He wrote:

"impotentes los estados para asfixiar los idiomas raciales (32), vense obligados, por la virtud irresistible de la justicia que esgrimen con entereza los pueblos sometidos, a ir concediendo, aunque poco a poco, los derechos arrebatados por la violencia".

(1934 : 361)(33)

("States, powerless to *stifle* the languages of ethnic minorities, are compelled by the irresistible virtue of a justice which upholds the rights of subject peoples to grant, albeit little by little, these rights which they have taken away by force".)

30. Allendesalazar, A. (1854-1887). M.P. for Gernika and Secretary to the 'Congreso de Diputados' (Parliament). First writer to publish a general bibliography of the Basque Country in 1887 entitled: **Biblioteca del Bascófilo**.

31. Ariztimuño, J. de (1890-1936). Founder of the newspaper 'El Día' (1931) and of the journal 'Yakintza' (1933-1936) and Director of 'Euskaltzaleak'. Contributor to newspapers and reviews with numerous articles, some of them often quoted: "La muerte del euskera o los profetas de mal agüero" (1931), "La democracia en Euzkadi" (1935), etc.

32. Cf. Heath (1975, 1976, 1978) for a historical analysis of the views of language that influenced language policies in former Castilian colonies: Mexico, Peru, ...

33. Cf. McIver (1982): 'Ethnic Identity and the Modern State'.

The same idea of recognition of rights was succinctly worded by Olano in the same period stating that this recognition of ethnic, linguistic and religious rights was anxiously hoped for by the Basque country (1935 : 130). However, just before the Civil War (1936-1939), a writer like Landeta considered that the problem of the language had other sources besides political causes, which strictly speaking were thought of as secondary (1933 : 434).

If the Estatuto of 1936 recognised some of the much sought after requests, it was just a short lived period, followed by a long stretch of years during which demands gathered strength over time. Placer in 1969 echoed this hopeful mood of yearning for better times:

"As soon as the Basque country regains a good autonomy (the 1936 self-rule was very incomplete) - 'Euskera' shall be an official language".
(1969 : 12)

This view was to be repeated in other writings of the sixties, although at times it was expressed in stronger terms. For one anonymous writer politicians were considered to be the only responsible party for restrictive measures that forced countries which 'nature had made bilingual' into compulsory monolingualism. He insisted in presenting these measures as a lack of vision on the part of the politicians. The procedures were described as subversive dispositions inspired in a 'social monstrosity', that is, 'compulsory monolingualism' (1963 : 164).

Thus far the inability of the speakers to exert their rights has been considered, but how strong was their will to use the language thought to be?

2.2.3.2 Involvement of speakers

The lack of involvement by Euskera speakers has been noted previously and therefore it is not surprising that Altube (1933) stated that unless there was an intense patriotic reaction in the Basque country and especially among Euskera speakers, the language would become totally extinct. Consequently the first necessary condition for the regeneration of the language, in his view, was that a sufficiently large group possessed the language and used it.

A few years later, Tournier also pointed out the same factor as a possible cause of failure in any attempts at revitalisation:

"... Remèdes ... mais il faut bien l'avouer pas avec toute l'énergie et toute la constance qui seraient nécessaires, souvent par manque de moyens financiers, parfois aussi par manque de foi et de désintéressement".

(1949 : 93)

("[Proposed remedies] ...but it must be confessed not with all the energy and determination required, often through a lack of financial means but sometimes also due to lack of faith and disinterestedness".)

The words of Echegaray provide a useful summary of the change in attitude demanded from the community:

"...Olvidemos el pasado, y rectifiquemos nuestra conducta. Todos, también; vascos y no vascos. Trabajemos juntos, animados de cordialidad, dando de lado a las acritudes y a los personalismos, y sin otra pasión que la pasión generosa de asegurar a los que hoy se asoman a la vida los caminos de la cultura, sin mutilarla precisamente en aquella parte que ha de ser la fundamental para que las inteligencias infantiles sientan la apetencia del saber ...".

(1934 : 202)

("Let us forget the past and let us rectify our conduct. Everybody; Basques and non-Basques. Let us work together, filled with cordiality, leaving

aside acrimony and personal antagonisms and with no other passion than to secure for those starting out in life access to culture, without destroying precisely that part [the language] which is essential if young minds are to develop a taste for knowledge".)

2.2.3.3 A 'standard' written language

Another priority present in the literature was the need for a common written language³⁴. Detxepare is widely praised as having successfully achieved the transformation from 'speech to manuscript' (16thc), but the task of providing a 'unified' instrument for writing was the topic of much concerned inquiry. Gavel³⁵ in 1919 mentioned that it was a fact that required no demonstration, and was indispensable in establishing a literary and official language. He recalled the risk of multiple dialectal divisions that become more and more separate, offering less resistance to extraneous elements (1919 : 138)³⁶.

Campion and Broussain expressed their view on the matter in very definite terms: either the Basque language would be unified ... or it would irremediably degenerate into a patois, in which case Euskera would perish (1920 : 336)³⁷. They also thought that:

34. See Irigoyen (1984) for a schematic historical comment on the standardisation of Euskera.

35. Gavel, H. (?-1959). A specialist in Romance languages, and teacher of Spanish at the Lycée of Bayonne where he came in contact with Euskera. A Member of the Society of Basque Studies and of the Academy of the Basque Language, he published many interesting works in different reviews. His two main contributions are: *Éléments de phonétique basque* (1920) and *Grammaire basque* (1st volume, 1929). The second part of this grammar was completed in collaboration with George Lacombe, but only the first fascicle on the verb was published.

36. Cf. Urquijo (1919 : 173), language of civilisation versus a language reduced to common use without literary production.

37. See Mitxelena (1971).

"...La unificación del Euskera ... que equivaldría a la creación de un nuevo dialecto literario, destinado a suplantar con el tiempo a los dialectos vulgares actualmente vivos, es acaso la más grave de las cuestiones que puedan someterse a los debates y sentencia de nuestra academia".

(1920 : 331)

("The unification of Euskera ... which would amount to creating a new literary dialect, which in time would replace the everyday living dialects of the present day, is perhaps the gravest of the questions which may be submitted to the debates and resolutions of our Academy".)

However, there was a word of caution on the means to achieve this objective³⁸. Altube dealt extensively with the danger of too wide a disparity between the spoken language and the creation of a literary one excessively concerned with the 'purism' of the forms. The exaltation of purism would bring, as a counterpart, the denigration of the popular language and might cause the death of the latter through an artificial flourishing of the former (1933 : 271). He also gave warning of too much complacency over grammatical literary activities without taking into account grave loss in the spoken language (ibid., 258). Furthermore, he stressed that the true vitality of languages was measured exclusively in terms of the extension and intensity of its oral use (ibid., 282).

2.2.3.4 Use of the language in school

The only course of action agreed upon by all writers was that Basque should be introduced into the schools. The opinion of Echegaray (1931) that the school was the place where Basque children learned to look down on Euskera has

38. Cf Mocorea (1980) on the production of a language from the laboratory.

already been reported, as has been the accusation of Solano (1935) that the authorities had not used their privileged position to protect Euskera in the schools³⁹. A third fact already reported was the request of Euskaltzaindia for the introduction of the Basque language in education.

A small sample of opinions will serve to indicate the anxiety over such a crucial matter. They represent the most persistent demand among those concerned with the fate of Euskera.

Olano (1933) denounced this fatal absence of Euskera from school, citing pedagogical reasons:

"En la cultura vasca pasada y presente notamos un grave error y un gran vacío: en la educación escolar, cultural, de Vasconia, no se ha usado la lengua propia, la lengua vasca, como vehículo de la educación y de la enseñanza ...".

(1933 : 40)

("In Basque culture, past and present, we notice a serious error and gap: in school education or in the culture of the Basque country, its own language, the Basque language, has not been used as the vehicle for education and instruction".)

Eleizalde had already mentioned in 1918 that in the Basque country instruction had to be exclusively in Castilian. In view of this situation he advocated action in the following terms:

"Este nudo de la instrucción primaria en el país euzkeldun, es necesario soltarlo o cortarlo; ... No creo que consigamos soltarlo, es decir, obtener del estado que, dejando de lado sus ilusorias abstracciones y ateniéndose a las realidades, cambiase su sistema de educación e implantase la enseñanza primaria euzkérica en el país euzkeldun. Esto sería lógico, esto sería racional y justo pero por lo mismo parece poco probable, de consiguiente,

39. Cf. The role and work of the 'Diputaciones' and 'Juntas Generales' (= county institutions) to obtain more say and control on matters of Education (local, Universities, ...): Echegaray (1934); Gárate (1961, 1962), etc.

lo único factible en la situación actual será cortar el nudo, es decir, organizar nosotros mismos por medio de la asociación, de una especie de 'Matitse Skolška'(40) como la de los txeques, las escuelas euzkéricas que sean necesarias".

(1918 : 871)

("There is a need to either undo or cut this knot in primary education in the Basque country ... I do not think that we shall manage to undo it, that is that we will obtain from the State - leaving aside illusory abstractions and recognising living realities - a change in the system of primary education in the Basque country. This would be logical, rational and just. But it is precisely on these grounds that it seems improbable. Therefore, the only course of action is to cut the knot, that is to organise through the Association as many Basque schools as needed, some sort of Matitse Skolska, like the Czechs".)(40)

Landeta, years later, shared the view that the only effective solution was a school where all instruction would be given in Basque. He considered that the enterprise was possible, feasible and relatively easy, with only action being required.

"Hay, pues, que luchar; hay que tomar parte activa en hacer la historia de hoy, a tono con los tiempos actuales, dejando para otros que continuen en la labor de descifrar geroglíficos de la historia de ayer, y de recopilar objetos para vitrinas, hay pues, que luchar sin tregua, sin descanso, por la escuela vasca ...".

(1933 : 442)

("Therefore, we must fight; take an active part in the making of today's history in line with the present day times, leaving others to continue the task of deciphering hieroglyphs from yesterday's history and gathering together objects for glass cases. We must fight relentlessly and without rest for the Basque school".)

Ariztimuño used the same determined fighting terms in promoting the achievement of instruction in Basque as one of the most important aspirations of the Basque organisations (1934 : 357).

40. Czech schools with all the teaching in Czech rather than in German, the official language.



The 'ikastolas',⁴¹ the 'Basque schools', would be the translation into reality of a means of stopping the decline of Basque (Landeta, 1933 : 434). These would not, however, appear until the 1950s, even though in 1949 Tournier acknowledged that:

"un grand pas encore insuffisant, a été fait vers l'admission du Basque a l'école"

(1949 : 102)

("a great, yet insufficient, step has been taken towards the admission of Euskera at school".)

41. Important dates in the establishing of an all Basque speaking school (= 'ikastola'):

- 1896/1897 R.M. de Azkue opened a school, 'Ikastechea', in Bilbao. Boys only were accepted for their primary education not IN Euskera, but with some teaching OF the Basque language. (Closed 1899; reopened 1903).
- 1905 & 1914 Two schools, similar to 'Ikastechea', were opened in Bilbao. Euskera was still only a subject with the teaching in Castilian.
- 1914 M. de Muñoa opened an 'ikastola' (= school), 'Koru'ko Andre Maria'ren Ikastetxea', in San Sebastián. All teaching was in Euskera. The 'ikastola' was a success.
- 1918-1936 Many ikastolas were set up under the patronage of the Society of Basque Studies.
- 1920 The 'Escuelas de Barriada' (= District Schools) were set up in Bizkaia by the county authorities. By 1931 the Society of Basque Studies had denounced their failure to reinforce the use of Euskera in school.
- Spanish Civil War - 1936-1939.
- 1943 Elvira Zipitria, a former ikastola teacher, started a diminutive and illegal 'one-room-only' ikastola in her home in San Sebastian.
- 1950's Other similar clandestine ikastolas were opened.
1965. The first ikastola, 'R.M. de Azkue' was legalised in Bilbao.
- 1968 The Spanish authorities ordered the closure of all the 'illegal' schools. The Church provided the necessary legal status to maintain them open.
- 1980 'Convenio de Ikastolas' between the Basque Government and the Central Government in Madrid.
- 1980's There have been endless discussions on the future of the ikastolas. Negotiations are still being held on their integration into the public system of education.

	SCHOOLS			STUDENTS		
	1964	1971	1981	1964	1971	1981
Araba	1	2	29	22	376	5,509
Gipuzkoa	12	68	77	520	10,673	39,128
Nafarroa	-	9	42	-	950	5,727
Bizkaia	6	33	76	54	3,157	19,107
Euskadi North	-	7	24	-	47	564
TOTAL	19	119	248	596	15,203	69,935

Sources: Siadeco/Federación de Ikastolas.

Yet, as Placer also pointed out, the change would not be entirely efficient or satisfactory while Basque was only a subject in the school curriculum, and it would only become so when the entire education was imparted in Euskera (1969 : 12)⁴².

Finally, Barandiarán (1963) mentioned the danger entailed in the banning of Euskera from school with consequences not only for Basque speakers:

"...Problemas que ... la exclusión de su lengua y de su historia cultural de los programas de enseñanza, le han planteado en su propia casa poniendo en peligro de desaparición una cultura y un idioma - el único preario en la Europa occidental ..."

(1963 : 255)

("The exclusion of their language and cultural history from the curricula, have created problems within the Basque community, putting at risk the disappearance of a culture and a language which is the only Pre-Aryan in Western Europe".)

Hence the need for the conservation of the Basque people and their culture that he described as a matter of interest to science in his address to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences - Oxford Meeting (April 14th, 1946):

"We must insist that Governments should respect and protect the ethnic elements of the Basque people, not only for its antiquity, but for its scientific interest"

(1946 : 123)

But is this only a subjective feeling expressed by Basques, or is it a generalized feeling on the part of others who have come into contact with the people or studied their language?

42. See: Arrien (1984) on the genesis of the Basque schools; Larrañaga (1978) on the role of women in the creation of the Basque schools; Garmendia (1987) for the incorporation of Euskera to the school system, and Heguy (1987) for the teaching of Euskera in the private and public school system in the Basque country on the French side.

It is time, very briefly, to quote a few comments on the language at the centre of the debate.

2.2.4 Comments on the language and its speakers

The Basque language has attracted the attention of many scholars over the years⁴³. There were basically two questions that focused the interest of the researchers: the origin of Euskera and its relation to any other family of languages. Although the most varied interpretations were put forward, they all agreed on its antiquity which was reported to go back to the Stone Age, or at least, to the beginning of the Iron Age (Barandiarán, 1939, 1963; Tovar, 1980).

The following possible connections among others have been mentioned: Hamitic, Uralo-Altaic, Semitic and Caucasian. Already in 1844 a traveller, L.M. Costello, gave an account of some of these interpretations - utterly 'absurd' in some cases - which included affinities with indigenous nations of South America, a mixture of Greek and Hebrew dialects, and more extended theories such as the Iberian and Celtic connections. She also recorded the theory of those that would be described as 'Paradisiac Bascologists',⁴⁴ who claimed that Euskera was the language spoken by Adam and Eve. Other families of languages also mentioned as having been named in connection with Euskera were: Finno-Ugrian,

43. Cf. Chapter 3, 2. See also: Urquijo (1934); Entwistle (1956); Mitxelena (1977); Tovar (1980) etc.

44. See Urquijo (1934); Echegaray (1934); Echaide (1965).

Berber and Eskimo⁴⁵.

Over the years the names of famous linguists have been associated with Euskera in their search for some possible links which might contribute to the deciphering of its enigma. Besides the logical interest of those of the Peninsula (Bosch Gimpera, P., Menéndez Pidal, M., Tovar, A., Gómez Moreno, M., ...) there are many other foreign names: W. von Humboldt, Prince L.L. Bonaparte, H. Schuchardt, K. Bouda, R. Lafon, C.C. Uhlenbeck, F. Ribary, G. von der Gabelenz, L. Reinisch, A. Trombetti, G. Dumezil, O. Minghin, J. Karst, P. Fouchés, E. Zyhlarz, V. Bertoldi, ... etc.

Although there is agreement on the language not belonging to the Indo-European family, the words of R. Lafon⁴⁶, repeated by Barandiarán (1939) in relation to its origin, can also be applied here: as to its belonging to a given family, the problem ... "n'est pas résolu"⁴⁷.

Besides the scientific conclusions obtained from the research undertaken by linguists there are also testimonies

45. Cf. Borrow's own appraisal after his visit to Spain in 1838: he mentioned connections with the Phoenician language as suggested by the natives, but he preferred a Tartar origin. He added his final evaluation: "The Basques assert that it was not only the original language of Spain, but also of the world, and that from it all other languages are derived; but the Basques are a very ignorant people, and know nothing of the philosophy of language" (1907 : 520).

46. Lafon, M.R. (1899-1974). In 1948 he was appointed to the Chair of Basque Language and Literature on its creation at the University of Bordeaux. He was also a member of the Academy of the Basque Language, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres and President of the Société de Linguistique de Paris.

In 1941-1943 he completed his thesis on "Le système du verbe basque au XVI^e siècle. Le système de formes verbales à auxiliaire dans les principaux textes basques du XVI^e siècle", which he submitted to the Sorbonne in 1944. In 1969 he became Doctor 'Honoris causa' of the University of Tbilisi (Georgia, USSR) for his outstanding studies of the Caucasian languages.

47. Cf. Tovar (1950); Mitxelena (1971), etc. Euskera has also been used in attempting to solve other linguistic enigmas, e.g. Guiter (1968).

of some of those who visited the Basque country⁴⁸ (travelers, soldiers, etc.). Some British visitors reported the difference from Castilian (Broughton, 1815; Henningsen, 1836; Lord Hay, 1839; Borrow, 1842; Baxter, 1852, etc.), sometimes adding the remark about Euskera being unmixed⁴⁹ with any surrounding language (Swinburne, 1781 : 424)⁵⁰, which was considered a point of interest.

On a more impressionistic basis and as a contrast to the more flattering descriptions of native speakers, who describe it in terms not only of antiquity but beauty and nobility as well, the comments of some of those travellers are far from complimentary.

If Picaud already in the 12th (c.1173)⁵¹, had compared Euskera to 'barking',⁵² centuries later the terms 'harsh and vulgar' were used by Broughton (1815) and 'harsh in pronunciation but rich and expressive' were also mentioned by Henningsen (1836) summing up the position of similar statements from other sources. This balanced picture of contradictory aesthetic terms coming from natives and strangers only illustrates the projection on to language of subjective appraisals where one's own group evaluation, or a more detached - or at times a topical one - is portrayed.

48. See Douloun, J. (1970): *Les Anglais dans les Pyrénées ...*, J. Bilbao's 'Supplement 1961-1975' to the *Enciclopedia General Ilustrada del País Vasco* ('Viajeros'), for an exhaustive list of travellers by nationalities.

49. See Mitxelena (1963).

50. See EEA, 1911, 1, 3, 70-74.

51. Vieillard, J. (1938): *Le Guide du Pèlerin ...*

52. See López - Mendizábal (1965) for some historical explanations of possible reasons behind that pilgrim's invectives.

Besides linguistic judgements, the speakers of the language were also evaluated. The descriptions included physical traits⁵³ - athletic, strong, ... - and they were also often described as being less dark than their neighbours (Swinburne, 1781; Broughton, 1815; Brooke, 1831; Henningsen, 1836; etc.). Whether this was a question of repeating a set prior image found in literature is open to discussion, and at least in one instance Adolphus (1858) made an explicit acknowledgement of following R. Ford's Handbook (1845) in detail.

The character of the inhabitants was also described by the writers mentioned above. They tended to use terms like 'independent' and 'brave'. There were, however, more complete and detailed descriptions of the Basque character, such as Humboldt's or Carnarvon's, where the image seemed to stress all the positive qualities found in other writers⁵⁴.

The descriptive terms taken from some British visitors to the Basque country in the c19th may be used as a sample of the reactions of the average visitors - not the language specialists - to Euskera and its speakers. On the other hand, the interest of the opinions expressed about the Basque people among the Basques themselves is reflected in the publication of books with collections of statements on both topics (*¿Qué se ha dicho de los Vascos?* = What has been said about the Basques? *¿Cómo son los Vascos?* = What are the

53. See Campion (1920): *¿Es fea o hermosa la raza vasca?* (Is the Basque race beautiful or ugly?), with comments based on the paintings of contemporary Basque artists.

54. Trueba's (1870) Report to the Society of Social Economy (Paris) on the state of the Basque country at the time of the descriptions of these two writers gives some more detailed facts.

Basques like?)⁵⁵, or sections in Journals under titles such as 'Los Vascos y su país Juzgados por propios y extraños' = 'The Basques and their country judged by themselves and by strangers'.

Besides the natural interest in a topic related to one's own reference group, it also indicates the extent of stereotyped descriptions. The historian Fusi (1984) stressed pluralism and dynamism in the Basque contemporary identity. Having revised some of the topical images ascribed to the Basques he gave a reminder about the frequent mention of references to particular traits, often selective, as 'the' representation of the total psychology. He also pointed to the fact that the presence of myths is a fact common to other countries as it is a stereotyped vision from the exterior and a mythified interpretation of reality and history within the country. Both natives and strangers seem to enhance or deprecate reality⁵⁶ ("the noble character of the Basques", Carnarvon, 1836; "Hec est gens barbara, ... omni malicia plena", Picaud, c.1173).

These comments create what Lippman called "the pictures inside the heads" (1922 : 29) of people about themselves, others, their needs, purposes, relationships. Buchanan and Cantril followed the analogy of the simile of 'maps' to emphasize the similarity in that "they represent reality but they are not themselves 'reality'" (1945 : 1). However, these images exist and can be observed when examining

55. See Tovar (1980): *Mitología e Ideología sobre la lengua vasca*; Estornés Lasa (1967); Ugalde (1974); Basañez (1975); Erro (1976).

56. Cf. Irujo (1945 : 12-13)

literature similar to the samples discussed above.

2.3 Summary

The comments presented are aimed at focusing on some points of interest for a better understanding of the emotional aura surrounding Euskera.

For native speakers it is not only a symbol of their own identity, but a language unique in its value. It has been persecuted over the years and a struggle has been mounted to redress this injustice.

Some of the objectives so much sought after have been attained, but it would be premature to advance any comment on their implementation in everyday life at the moment, except to say there is still turmoil, similar to that of previous times; but overall there is a greater hope in the community that there will be more true bilingual speakers. This last is a trend in line with a general reappraisal of bilingualism in other parts of the world⁵⁷.

57. Cf. the approach to bilingualism expressed by Spolsky et al. (1977); Jong (1986) or Baetens (1987) in his article "Who's afraid of Bilingualism?".

See also Cummins (1987) for a specific defence of the bilingual model set out in education in Euskadi.

CHAPTER 3

Background : some selected bilingual communities

3.1 Introduction

In the two previous chapters, the situation, and circumstances of Euskera, as well as some views about the status of the language and its speakers, have been presented. However, a look at other bilingual communities might be useful in reaching a better understanding of these comments and feelings, perhaps finding similar situations or views elsewhere¹.

The harmful practice reported by young Basque speakers attending school with teachers trying to implement Castilian at all costs (Gárate 1969, 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1976) appears also to have been used in other countries. The practice discussed by the researcher Gárate² in his articles is that related to the use of the 'anillo escolar'³ ('the school ring') (Humboldt, 1801; Echegaray, 1934, etc.) which operated as a deterrent to the speaking of the Basque language at school, and to the punishments suffered by transgressors. He also includes the comments of people who either suffered from or witnessed such a practice.

1. See McConnell on the Basque-Spanish contact situation, 'which is both unique and common to a category of case types' (1987 : 1).

2. J. Gárate (1900-). Member of the Society of Basque Studies, of the Academy of the Basque Language and of the American Institute of Basque Studies. He has contributed articles on very diverse topics (travel, Basque folklore, language, medicine ...) to many journals and reviews.

3. A ring or any other token which was given to the pupil who was heard speaking Euskera at school. It had to be passed on and the pupil who had it at the end of the day or week would be severely punished.

One such witness, the celebrated 18th century writer and pedagogue Cardaberaz⁴, (1761 : 17) writing in Euskera showed his indignation at such a practice:

"... jendeen artean beste lenguajerik Euskera bano ditxa gabeagorik ezta ikusi, ta, gure jatorrizko edo jaiotzako izkera ez balitz bezala, ta Euskaraz itzegitea pekaturik aundiena balitz bezala, giza artetik kendu ta lurpean ondatu nai dute, ta eskoletan sortija edo sinaleakin, azote ta kastiguakin, eragotzi nai dute ..."

Gárate (1969 : 180) translates into Castilian:

"...no hay entre las naciones idioma más desdichado que el euskera ... prohibiéndole en las escuelas con el anillo y otras señales, mediante azotes y castigos ..."

(... there is no more wretched language among the nations than Euskera ... banning it from schools with the ring and other devices, and by means of lashes and punishments ...)

He writes as if it were a unique case, but a visit to another bilingual community such as Wales would show that even this 'pedagogic' practice is not an isolated fact unknown outside the Basque country. In the Museum of Welsh Antiquities in Bangor (Gwynedd) one of the exhibits in the Local Crafts section is a 'Welsh not' or 'nod' ('Welsh stick')⁵ used in the schools for the same purpose as that mentioned in the Basque country, that is, to deter Welsh from being spoken and to promote the use of English only in the schools (cf. Khleif, 1979 : 63).

Also the same practice is reported by Timm (1980 : 30) in a different bilingual community, Brittany, where it was

4. A. de Cardaberaz (1703-1770) a Jesuit, who after spending some years preaching in many villages of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia published his first book in Euskera in 1744. However, it was not until 1761 that he changed from translations and writings of a religious nature to produce a treaty aimed at teaching how to speak, read and write in Euskera.

5. See 'Report on Committee on Education' 1847, III, 19.

used to reinforce French and to not only repress but to denigrate Breton as well. This time a small object called 'le symbole' was used - sometimes 'a sabot'! - and it was hung around the neck of the child heard speaking Breton. The system of finding other victims and the consequences at the end of the day, follow the pattern already described in the Basque country.

3.2 The Lausanne Conference 1916

In the search for other communities to be examined, alternative criteria might be adopted. For example, a political or geographical approach could be chosen (e.g. Entwistle, W.: **The Spanish language together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque**; Price, G.: **The Languages of Britain**) or a chronological one might be selected (e.g. Beltza: **El Nacionalismo Vasco (1876-1936)**; Beltza: **El Nacionalismo Vasco en el exilio 1937-1960**).

In the case under discussion, Basque, a date of great importance for the Basque people was their inclusion for the first time of a Delegation representing the Basque nationality at an international forum. The date was 1916 and the occasion the Third Conference of Nationalities held in Lausanne. For purposes of comparison it is relevant to examine what has happened to some of the other languages represented at that conference in the last 70 years vis-à-vis developments in Basque. The question could be put as to whether the vicissitudes experienced by Euskera were exceptional for the Basque country or in fact common to other bilingual communities.

This twofold feeling of being unique but at the same time sharing a similar fate as other communities was clearly expressed in 1916 by the Basque Delegation who attended that 'Troisième Conférence des Nationalités' in Lausanne. The Basque Delegates⁶ insisted on the specific peculiarity of their representation yet at the same time acknowledged the importance of taking part in the common struggle undertaken by the rest of the participants. This dual feeling is clearly shown in the address of the delegation:

"...Nous, Basques, comme un petit îlot dans un coin de l'Europe..."

(...We, Basques, as a small island in a corner of Europe...)

Thus, the uniqueness of the people they represented was stressed:

6. Eleizalde'tar, Koldobika; López-Mendizábal'dar, Ixaka and Eizagüire'tar, Joseba .

López-Mendizábal, I. (1879-1977)

In 1899 he obtained his Ph.D. for his thesis on "Cantabria, la guerra cantábrica y País Vasco en el tiempo de Augusto", in 1903 he completed his Ph.D. in Law with "Fueros de Guipuzcoa". Subsequently López-Mendizábal's life was devoted to publishing works related to the Basque language and people. A member of the Academy of the Basque Language from its foundation in 1919, he collaborated in writing many journals and reviews. However, according to L. Villasante, President of the Academy of the Basque Language, his greatest merit lay both in his concern for teaching methods and preparation of materials for learning Euskera so that children could use Euskera as a vehicle for acquiring knowledge. Examples of this work include:

1908 - 'Manual de conversación castellano-euskera'. 1913 - 'Zenbakiztia - Aritmética infantil'. 1916 - 'Diccionario Vasco-Castellano'. 1920 - 'Método de lectura euskérica 'Umearen laguna' (Children's friend). 1925 - 'Libro de lecturas para niños'. 1932 - '¿Quiere Vd. hablar en euskera?'. 1943 - 'La lengua vasca - Gramática, conversación'. 1949 - 'Xabiertxo'. 1954 - 'Gramática vasca abreviada'. ...

Eizaguirre, J. (1881-1949)

Novelist and writer in Euskera and Castilian and a member of the Society of Basque Studies. Apart from his literary production he was very active politically as an M.P. and member of the Jury of Constitutional guarantees ... In 1945 he presented an address to the Universal Union for Law and Peace on 'Le problème basque dans le panorama politique de l'Etat Espagnol'.

"...ni les anthropologistes ni les ethnologistes n'ont pu jusqu'à présent nous classer dans aucune des familles ethniques connues, de telle façon que le peuple Basque est aujourd'hui un îlot ethnique, dont l'origine et l'existence sont encore un problème et un mystère pour l'Anthropologie et l'Ethnographie." (7)

(...neither anthropologists nor ethnologists have been able so far to class us among any known ethnic family, so that the Basque people today is an ethnic island, whose origin and existence are even now a problem and a mystery for Anthropology and Ethnography.)

However, it was the unsolved problem of the Basque language that was given special emphasis

"...La structure très singulière de la langue basque, avec sa personnalité définie, n'apporte aucune solution à ce problème, car loin de démontrer la plus lointaine parenté avec le reste des langues européennes, l'opinion unanime de tous les linguistes qui se sont occupés d'elle depuis Humboldt jusqu'aux modernes Vinson, Uhlenbeck et Schuchardt(8), place la langue basque en dehors du groupe indo-européen et du groupe sémitique..."

(ibid., 66)

(...The very special structure of the Basque language with its defined personality does not offer any solution to such a problem, since far from showing the slightest relationship to the other European languages, the unanimous opinion of all the linguists who have taken up its study from Humboldt to the modern ones such as Vinson, Uhlenbeck and Schuchardt, places the Basque language outside the Indo-European and Semitic groups...)

Recognition of the unique character of the language, however, was no obstacle to recognising a situation in common with the other twenty-two peoples (Albanians,

7. Compte Rendu de la 3ème Conférence des Nationalités réunie à Lausanne 27-29 Juin 1916. Publié par l'office Central de l'Union des Nationalités. Lausanne 1917, p.67.

8. Some years later Irujo (1945 : 12) added to the former the names of some other language scholars who had shown their interest in the Basque language: 'Stempf, Van Eys, Vinson, Uhlenbeck, Dodgson, Bourgeois, Linschmann, Winkler, Goutman, Herelle, Rouselot, Trebitsch, Gavel, Lacombe, Urtel, etc.'.

See also: Bosch (1964); Crystal (1987 : 326) on language isolates.

Armenians, Alsatians, Belgians, Catalans, Egyptians, Finns, Irish, Jews, ...)

"...Cependant, toujours isolés dans nos montagnes, seuls sans penser que d'autres aussi souffrent comme nous pour les mêmes idées, vous pouvez supposer avec quelle émotion nous arrivons ici aujourd'hui pour vous saluer fraternellement, unis dans un même sacrifice et dans la lutte pour un même idéal pour des désirs semblables ..."

(ibid., 66)

(...However, always isolated in our mountains, without thinking that others also suffer like us because of the same ideas, you may imagine with what emotion we arrive here today to greet you in a fraternal way, joined in a similar sacrifice and in the fight for a similar ideal and similar desires ...)

It was this idea of a common struggle to save their unique identity as individuals and as peoples that the Basque delegates used to sum up their contribution

"...Pour terminer ... nous vous prions de nous reconnaître comme des belligérants dans cette grande lutte des petites nationalités qui savent parfaitement que, pour préciser les droits des nations, on ne les mesure pas, ni par le nombre de leurs habitants ni par leurs kilomètres carrés. Par votre action, Messieurs, vous aurez défendu le droit primordial de tous les êtres humains, individuels et collectifs, à leur propre existence"

(ibid., 71)

(...To end ... we ask you to recognise us as belligerents in this great fight of the small nationalities who know perfectly well that, to dispose of the rights of nations they are not to be measured neither by the number of their inhabitants, nor by their square kilometres. By your action, gentlemen, you have defended the primordial right of all human beings, individually and collectively, to their own existence).

Although the terms 'island' and 'isolated' appear in the previous paragraphs, it would be misleading to believe that such was the situation in relation to other communities. On the contrary, there was at the time an awareness

of the situation of other bilingual communities, as has already been mentioned in Chapter 2. In addition, in a conference held in 1919, Urquijo echoed this interest of the Basques vis-à-vis other languages in relation to the problem of an international language and the national ones. After describing the situation of other languages in Europe at that time, he focused his analysis on the situation of the Basque language, pointing out some of the dangers which threatened it and suggesting measures not only to stop the decline in numbers of speakers but to change the trend and turn Euskera into a literary language as well as one used in everyday life⁹. Urquijo's final appeal was directed not only at the future Academy of the Basque Language and at the Diputaciones - the County institutions - but also to the people, both as individuals and as a group.

"...Pero no olvidemos que la lengua es un fenómeno social y que si un individuo aislado tiene poca acción sobre ella, en cambio un pueblo unánime y consciente, puede influir en su marcha y desarrollo ... para esto es preciso que los trabajos y esfuerzos existan y, que todos y cada uno de nosotros, aislada y colectivamente, coadyuvemos al resurgimiento del idioma"

(ibid., 179)

(...But we must not forget that language is a social phenomenon and that if an isolated individual has little control over it, a unanimous and conscious people can influence its pace and development

... for this it is necessary that there should be work and effort and that every single one of us, privately and collectively, should cooperate in the revival of the language).

9. Urquijo, J. de : 'Lengua internacional y lenguas nacionales. El 'euskera' lengua de civilización'. 1919, RIEV. 10, pp. 164-180.

Urquijo's concern for the revival of the language was very often compared and contrasted with what was happening in other bilingual communities at the time. A few years later, the phenomenon of bilingualism and, in particular, its treatment in education, was also the concern of authors such as Olano (1933), Landeta (1933), Altube (1933), Ariztimuño (1934-1935), Olano de Alzo (1935), etc.

However, as already explained, this chapter is concerned not with education but with the general situation in other non-unilingual communities. Reference has been made to the fact that twenty-three nationalities¹⁰ attended the Lausanne Conference, a point stressed in the first sentence of the Preface of the *Compte Rendu*:

"Malgré toutes les difficultés de la guerre actuelle, la IIIème Conférence des Nationalités a pris les allures d'un grand congrès"

(Despite all the difficulties of the present war, the third Conférence des Nationalités feels like a great congress).

Since the discussion in this chapter is illustrative only a sample was selected from all the participants. The selection includes the West European countries: Finland, Ireland, Belgium, Catalonia, Alsace and Luxemburg.

Besides these communities, three others - Brittany, Scotland and Wales - are also mentioned, although they were absent from Lausanne. Apart from deriving their interest, from personal experience, each one of them contributes

10. The participants were: Albanians, Armenians, Alsace-Lorrainians, Basques, Belgians, Catalans, Egyptians, Finns, Irish, Jews, Letonians, Lithuanians, Luxembourgeois, Poles, Rumanians, Syrians, Czechs, Tunisians, Yugo-Slavians (Serbians and Croatians) and the other nationalities of Russia (Ukrainians, Georgians, Czerkesians, Tartars).

information about the linguistic efforts undertaken in a considerable number of communities of Western Europe.

3.3 The communities seventy years later.

In his study on the ethnic revival in modern industrialized society Allardt examined 46 linguistic minorities in Western Europe, pointing out that political mobilization and agitation by ethnic groups had been a conspicuous feature of internal politics in advanced industrial societies from the late 1960s throughout the 1970s. He explained:

"The renaissance of ethnic feelings in minority groups has taken a variety of forms. In some cases one can witness an actual rebirth of minority regional languages, in other cases renewed or new demands for self-determination, and, in most cases at least, claims for the rights to use the minority language in schools, in the mass media, and in dealings with the government".

(1979 : 9)

In the 70's and 80's these claims received recognition in Europe and also at the level of conferences where the study of "les langues moins enseignées" or "les langues moins répandues" was a major topic (Helsinki, 1975; Budapest, 1980; Sofia, 1980; Belgrade, 1980; Paris, 1983; Thessalonika, 1984; Venice, 1986, etc.).

Papers from these conferences remind us of the Lausanne sessions and of the attempts to expand some of the languages. A review of some of the literature will throw some light on the current state of feelings in a few of the Western European communities mentioned above. But before examination of any linguistic minority, it might be helpful

for purposes of comparison to reproduce - partially - the table elaborated by Allardt, which indicates the minorities here discussed¹¹.

In the table resources for each minority - linguistic, economic and political - are trichotomized and then cross-tabulated with ethnic mobilization.

	RESOURCES	Small	Medium	Great
E T H N I C M O B I L I Z A T I O N	HIGH	BRETONS	BASQUES (Spain) WELSH	FLEMINGS WALLOONS CATALANS (Spain)
	MEDIUM	GAELS (Ireland) BASQUES (France)		SWEDISH FINNS ALSATIANS
	WEAK	GAELS (Scotland)		

The data are from 1975 and later, but before 1980

3.3.1 Finland

A simple examination of numbers of speakers at the end of 1978 shows that out of a total population of 4,758,088 in Finland, there were 4,448,908 persons whose first language was Finnish, and 302,593 whose first language was Swedish. These figures seem to be growing wider apart according to

11. Allardt, op. cit. p. 64.

See: Price (1969): The present position of Minority Languages in Western Europe.

the statistics given by the Central Office of Statistics of Finland which indicate the evolution of population according to language from 1900 to 1970.

	1900	1930	1950	1970
Finnish	87%	89%	91%	93%
Swedish	13%	10%	9%	7%

Haugen, in a paper delivered in 1980 at the First International Conference on Minority Languages in Glasgow, traced briefly the rise in status of Finnish from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day. Swedish has gradually been turned into a minority language, acquiring the status that demographically and functionally Finnish had as a part of the Swedish kingdom. Even within a system of official bilingualism

"many young Swedish Finns are today transitional bilinguals on their way to Finnish".

(Haugen, 1980 : 107)

De Vries, discussing the prevalence of bilingualism among Swedish speakers in Finland in 1950, insisted on the importance of the findings of bilingualism in this group. This is a group which should have had the best chances of language survival, according to the observation that ethno-linguistic minorities have the best chances for survival if they are 'peripheral' to the nation-state in which they reside, and if they are concentrated in those peripheries to such a degree that contact with members of other linguistic minorities is not required¹². De Vries stressed the interest

12. Cf. Greene (1980) on number of speakers for linguistic independence.

of the case under discussion

"since the survival (or decline) of the linguistic minority, at least in this case, can not be attributed to the group having inferior social status, less than full civic rights or to the effects of discrimination in any fashion".

(De Vries, 1980 : 16)

Nevertheless, there has been a decline in the number of Finland's population having Swedish as the main language - 354,000 in 1940, 302,700 in 1975 according to the census - although the author reminds us that:

"I should reiterate that bilingualism does not necessarily(13) lead to language shift, but that it is a necessary condition for language shift to occur".

(ibidem)

Moreover, in a paper read at this same Glasgow Conference, Reuter reinforced the vitality and strength of Finnish by commenting on the divergent position of Swedish as a minority language in practical life although historically it was a dominant language, and is still an official language. He stressed this divergence by adding that:

"were it not for exigencies of a historical and geographical nature, the position of Swedish as a minority language would certainly be much weaker".

(Reuter, 1980 : 131)

Education in Swedish is available at all levels - although there are several fields of higher education where instruction is given only in Finnish - and there is no lack of facilities which are regulated by the Language Act. However, Reuter claimed that the maintenance of the language at the public level would depend on the demand being placed upon it, which if lacking, would lead to the same decline

13. Greene (1980) stated a more pessimistic opinion on the choice of bilingualism in the light of the experience of some neo-Celtic languages such as Cornish and Manx.

in language as that occurring in the private sector. He concluded his perusal of the situation by remarking that:

"...the Government has recently shown in many ways that it wishes to consolidate the position of this language".

(ibid., 137)

The above comments tend to indicate that Finnish has fared extremely well in these last decades, the very opposite to what has happened in Ireland.

3.3.2 Ireland

Haugen had commented that a lesson to learn from the Scandinavian experience was

"the importance of political power in establishing languages"

(Haugen, 198 : 100)

although he reminded us of the Irish experience where

"the autonomous nation-state is no longer a guarantee of linguistic autonomy".

(ibid., 115)

Fennell elaborated the question of whether it was possible for a state to save a shrinking linguistic minority and concluded from the results of the Irish experience, that this

"has been the biggest and most comprehensive attempt yet made in Europe to save a shrinking language minority, ... undertaken by a state representing the nation to which the minority belongs".

(Fennell, 1980 : 32)

It was clear that the only people who can stop the shrinking of the language are the group themselves¹⁴, and it was their collective will to stop their own disappearance as a linguistic entity which was characteristically lacking in

14. Cf. Urquijo (1919), Reuter (1980), Aitken (1980), etc.

the Irish situation¹⁵. After commenting on the decline of numbers of 'real' Irish speakers over the years¹⁶, Fennell summed up his discussion, stressing that:

"a shrinking linguistic minority can be saved from extinction only by itself; and on condition that it acquires the will to save itself, and is not prevented from taking appropriate measures but assisted in doing so".

(ibid., 39)

In his discussion of ethnic revival Allardt had indicated that

"although there is a relationship between the availability of resources and ethnic mobilization, there are also many exceptions".

(1979 : 65)

In his table, 'Gaels in Ireland' appear as 'small' in resources and 'medium' in mobilization, the same as the Basques in France.

15. See Mackay (1987), on linguistic vitality in Canada, Euskadi, Scotland and Ireland.

16. Cf. number of Irish speakers according to census.

Number and Percentage of Irish Speakers

	Irish speakers	Non-Irish speakers	0% Irish speakers
1946	588,725	2,182,932	21.2
1961	716,420	1,919,398	27.2
1971	789,429	1,998,019	28.3
1981	1,018,413	2,208,054	31.6

Cf. also the number and percentage of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht Area (Gaeltacht Area Orders 1956, 1967 and 1974).

(Gaeltacht Areas: Portion of the counties of Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Mayo and Waterford)

A = Total Gaeltacht Areas (excluding Meath)

B = Meath

	Irish speakers			Non-Irish speakers			Irish speakers as % of total		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
A	64,275	54,940	57,533	9,986	11,042	15,211	86.6	83.3	79.1
B	-	500	493	-	358	407	-	58.3	54.8

3.3.3 Belgium

Ranking high not only in resources but in ethnic mobilization are 'Flemings and Walloons'. Bourhis et al. discussed the Belgian situation before describing their experiments on psycholinguistic distinctiveness via language divergence, stressing that

"it is extremely difficult to do justice to the complexity of the situation".

(1979 : 161)

They enumerated the different vicissitudes through which, from a centralistic and French-speaking state in 1830, Belgium has become a bicultural state, where issues related to linguistic communities are still unresolved, Brussels being the major point of contention¹⁷. For Flemish speakers this latter is a territory to be conquered; for Francophones, it is territory to be defended (Swing, 1981).

This transformation was discussed more fully by Lefèvre along the lines of three different stages of linguistic identification: "latente, manifeste et enculturative" (1979 : 43). He divided each stage into two periods of identification, historical and structural, before reaching the "identification mobilisatrice". All these divisions were treated diachronically when examining the following: who starts the mobilising (or has started it) and how a 'nation wallonne' is being produced (or has been produced), also with a comparison of some elements of analysis of the production and reproduction of the 'nation flamande'.

17. See Wardhaugh (1987 : 206); Falch (1973 : 13ff).

This historical process has made Belgium become regionally unilingual (cf. Canada and Switzerland) with a capital which, although officially bilingual, is in reality predominantly French - 80% of the inhabitants have adopted French (Swing, 1981 : 214) - rather than bilingual across the whole country¹⁸.

Certain landmarks in the field of education are mentioned because of their impact. These are: the transformation of the University of Ghent into the first all-Dutch language university in 1930; the law of 1932 giving Flemish equality in Primary and Secondary Education; the more recent laws dating from the 1960s which, among other matters, allow the Flemish minority in Brussels to obtain better educational facilities; the problems of the University of Louvain in 1968, which caused the setting up of Louvain la Neuve for the Francophones; the division of the University of Brussels in 1969... etc.

The search for solutions has continued to the present day and, as Swing has aptly pointed out in relation to the politicolinguistics of education in Belgium, language is not only the source of individual identity, but also the basis

18. Linguistic Border = Courtrai, Renaix, Louvain and Tongres.

In 1980 according to the Institut Belge d'Information et de Documentation:

	Language	Inhabitants	% of total population
To the North of the Border	Dutch	5,600,902	57.9
To the South of the Border	French	3,160,463	32.1
Brussels	Mostly French	1,015,710	10.3
To the East	German	64,578	0.66

for cultural, social and political¹⁹ life. She considered that:

"...the centrifugal impact of language conflict ... may have fragmented many institutions in Belgium, but it is language loyalty which provides the matrix which binds the discrete units which have evolved from these fragmented parts. An exploration of these centrifugal-centripetal forces is an exploration of a national preoccupation".

(ibid., 3)

3.3.4 Catalonia

The position attained by Flemings and Walloons is ascribed to Catalans in Spain. Allardt's ranking would tally with the summary made in the abstract of Pérez Alonso's assessment of the situation of the language in Catalonia in the same year. When discussing Catalan, he claimed that:

"...its success²⁰ against the Castilian language puts it in first place among the dominated languages of Spain ... In the sociopolitical area, the Catalan language has obtained important advantages in both official and unofficial areas ... The success of the Catalan language in the pedagogical area is smaller" ...

(1979 : 109)

This last comment is echoed by the Director General of Primary Education of Catalonia in the presentation of a survey of knowledge of Catalan and Castilian in the Primary fourth grade which was carried out four years after the 1978 Decree which incorporated Catalan into the educational system of Catalonia²¹. In her introduction to the work, the

19. Latest crisis, Furons/Voeren, October 1986

20. See Llobera's comments (1981) on the article 'Una Nació sense Estat, un Poble sense Llengua?' (1979) ('Stateless Nation, Tongueless People?') published in the review *Els Marges*, reminding of the dangers of excessive self-satisfaction and of the fact that the survival of Catalan identity (culture, language) could not be taken for granted.

21. The figures eight years later indicate that 85% of the centres of Primary Education in Catalonia use Catalan in their teaching to a greater or lesser extent, an increase from 3.35% of centres in 1978 (El País : 8.4.1986)

Director General wrote that the conclusions reached suggested a precarious situation for Catalan considered globally as a 'lesser known' language by the students. She pointed to the need to strengthen the Catalan lessons and in particular its use in the school domain²².

A few years before the present survey another study on language politics had been carried out by Linz. In his appraisal of the situation of the four different languages spoken in Spain, i.e. Basque, Castilian, Catalan and Galician²³, he was trying to advance any predictions about the future of linguistic nationalisms. With many caveats as to the possibility of making sound predictions with the data available at the time, he insisted that it would be in Catalonia together with the Basque Country that:

"...the economically privileged position ... will allow their regional authorities to develop institutions, pushing for monolingualism or at least privileged status for those bilingual and exclusion of those monolingual in Castilian"

(1975 : 423)

A brief glance at one of the latest Newsletters from the Catalan Teaching Service run by one of Linz's 'anticipated' institutions, the Department d'Ensenyament de la

22. Generalitat de Catalunya (1983): 'Cuatro años...'. Presentación.

23. Cf. the table elaborated by Ros et al. (1987) on the 'vitality' of the languages of Spain based on Status, Demography and Institutional Support:

	Status	Demography	Institutional support	OVERALL
Castilian	High	High	High	HIGH
Catalan	High	Medium/High	Medium/High	MEDIUM/HIGH
Basque	Medium/High	Low	Medium	MEDIUM
Valencian	Medium	Medium	Low	MEDIUM/LOW
Galician	Low	Medium	Low	LOW

Generalitat de Catalunya, seems to confirm his predictions of brighter prospects for the language. The table of contents mentions, among other things, the progress of the linguistic immersion programme, the establishing and improvement of teaching staff for Catalan normalisation, Language and Literature workshops for Secondary Education, and experimental courses for Public school directors. A comment on the 'Intensive Plan'²⁴ for linguistic normalisation at schools mentions that

"...The results obtained until now ... [are] satisfactory because the index increase in language as an instrument of teaching and vehicle of culture has gained an average of 70% superior to the situation previous to the Plan"(25)

The corollary to all these activities appears to be that none of them would have been feasible without institutional support. Moreover, and as Linz had also observed, the recognition of languages affects careers and services provided by public institutions²⁶.

Finally, in his brief guide to language issues around the world the present day appraisal of the situation in Catalonia offered by Edwards (1985 : 189) is that:

"It is estimated that now half the population²⁷ speak and use Catalan, but the Spanish immigration and the standardising effects of Western culture generally are bringing about a change from diglossia to a more impermanent bilingualism".

24. The introduction of Intensive Plan "is required by the situation of specific difficulties presented by X places in the progress towards the linguistic and cultural catalanization of schools because of the precarious presence of the Catalan language".

25. Newsletter. December 1986, pp. 14-15.

26. See, Bastardas (1987) on Linguistic Planification in Québec, Catalonia and Euskadi.

27. Wardhaugh (1987 : 123) indicates the disagreement about percentages of speakers due to the lack of accurate census information.

His balanced appraisal could be complemented by the comments expressed by Joan Solá in his intervention in the summer course held by the University of the Basque Country in Donosti/San Sebastián, in September 1985. The situation is seen by Solá as needing 'intensive care' since, although:

"La lengua goza de un alto prestigio y todo el mundo desea aprenderla, ... el esfuerzo que se realice esto es ya otra historia"

(Deia: 4.9.85, p.14)

(The language enjoys a high prestige and everybody wishes to learn it ... the effort necessary to see this accomplished is quite a different story).

He concludes that the situation can be seen through the prism of 'the pessimism of the intelligence and the optimism of the will'²⁸.

3.3.5 Alsace

The last community to appear both among the Lausanne participants and in Allardt's study, is **Alsace**.

Gardner-Chloros's description of the linguistic situation in Alsace, and a review of the historical changes in the area and their linguistic sequels, painted a somewhat less than bright future for Alsatian if the present trend continued. She commented on the results of surveys which seemed to indicate that the regression of Alsatian is linked to social evolution towards a more urbanized and industrialised society²⁹. She added:

28. The same conclusion had been reached years earlier by B.L. Jones (1981 : 52) about Welsh, quoting Romain Rolland.

29. See Salmon (1985) for a more detailed review.

"Furthermore, as many experts on the Alsatian situation have pointed out, the Alsatis as a whole, to the extent that they are aware at all that their language is in danger, feel no clear sense of loss or urge to protect their language"

(1983 : 40).

Frequency of use among 11 to 18 year old students and adults had already been investigated some years earlier by Cole in a survey whose design comprised three aspects: frequency of Alsatian usage in the family and the linguistic community; Alsatian-German proficiency, and the status of Alsatian.

The results of the questionnaires (1975 : 296 ff) completed by students of the Munster Lycée - 11 miles from Colmar and drawing its students from a rural or semirural area with virtually no industry - indicated that subjects chose to shift from Alsatian to French when speaking to brothers and sisters one or two years earlier than when speaking to parents. This latter happened at about 15 years of age. In the section devoted to proficiency in German the younger group-11 and 12 years - were the ones who rated themselves as less proficient in German. They were also the ones who perceived themselves as employing Alsatian more frequently, rating their understanding and ability to speak Alsatian as excellent to a greater degree than the older groups³⁰.

As for the status of Alsatian, most subjects - young and old - preferred to be identified as Alsatian rather than solely French. Both groups felt that it was important for an Alsatian to be able to speak their dialect but it was felt more strongly by those 50 years and older. Nonetheless, although they rejected the idea that their dialect was going to disappear, they felt that it was spoken less and less.

30. Cf. Tabouret-Keller and Luckel (1981 : 68) on age and perceived use of Alsatian

The younger group felt that it was mainly Government and parents who should be responsible for encouraging its use. The answers of the older group, however, indicated that they felt it was the parents' responsibility and then to a lesser extent that of the Government. Both groups seemed to feel that school was the area which would be least expected to encourage the use of Alsatian.

Some years later, Khettry enlarged Cole's survey using students from two different Lycées which were like Munster, both in Upper Alsace. One however, Mulhouse, was an important urban centre, while the other, Soultz, was a small rural centre 25 kms from Mulhouse. The survey was widened in the sense that it also tried to cover questions such as: to what extent did the variables of socio-economic and geographical origin - urban or rural - determine language attitudes, the sentiments of identity and pride in the subjects, and whether the sentiments of regional pride exerted any significant influence on the norm adopted by young people and their attitudes and language security (1983 : 106).

The results followed the same trend as those reported by Cole as to regional identity and pride. They also repeated the findings that a high percentage of subjects expressed the wish to use their dialect, and that about two thirds of the total number indicated that they were proud of their accent.

The report revealed that feelings of regional identity and pride were stronger in the village than in town. The strongest feelings were found among the working class in the

village, while the weakest ones corresponded to the middle class in the town. On the whole, there seemed to be a higher level of language insecurity in town than in the village, for there was a higher percentage of subjects from town ready to stigmatize the French spoken in their region, their Alsatian accent, and they were unwilling to choose the French from Alsace as the norm.

Khettry's conclusions proposed a line of enquiry into other factors besides geographical and socio-economic origin, such as historical heritage and the ensemble of political, economic and social structures of the context in order to refine the results. However, she also concluded that on the whole the variable of geographical origin seemed to influence language attitude of subjects more than their socio-economic status.

3.3.6 Luxemburg

There is a group of minorities not to be found in the two documents - the Lausanne Acts and Allardt's survey - which have been used as references in this brief survey. They are examined because of the interest they offer on the state of different non-unilingual communities in Western Europe. One of these, Luxemburg, a minority present in the 1916 Conference, has a special linguistic situation and is looked at next.

Hoffman (1980), after a historical survey on the strong tradition of triglossia - or even tetraglossia - in **Luxemburg**, examined the place of Luxemburgish, a non-dominant

national language, along with French and German, the other two co-dominant official languages. Although in education its study was made compulsory in elementary schools more than 70 years ago (1912) and it became a compulsory subject in the lower forms of the secondary schools in 1944, its weakness still seems to be in writing. Although the author stated that Luxemburgish was making progress (1980 : 206) and was used more frequently as an instrument of communication among Luxemburgers than 20 or even 10 years earlier³¹, French and German are chosen for written communications. Hoffman rejected the idea of making Luxemburgish the sole official language in the Duchy as 'lunatic', but he stressed the role of the language as:

"the chief supporting structure and expression of a very strong national feeling".

(1980 : 207).

3.4 Other communities

3.4.1 Brittany

Although again not represented at Lausanne, Breton's position as a minority small in resources, but high in ethnic mobilization, according to Allardt, makes it an interesting subject for discussion.

The situation of the language in Brittany was discussed by Timm, not only in its synchronic aspect, but also diachronically. As to the attitudes of its speakers, the author cited testimonies of the past to support her view that:

"...for many years Breton speakers have held their language in low regard".

(1973 : 291)

31. 300,000 to 400,000 speakers : Crystal (1987 : 440)

Her quotations go back as far as 1792 and of special interest to the present research is the reference to a petition for Provincial Languages addressed to the French Legislature in 1870, signed by a group consisting not only of Bretons but of 'Basque intellectuals' as well³². This stressed the injustice done to countless rural inhabitants of the country who spoke a language other than French, by requiring them to obtain their education solely in French (1973 : 297). Nevertheless, obligatory primary education began in 1886, and therefore Breton-speaking children were compelled to acquire French at school.

1968 was given as the date when this trend seemed to change direction. Claims for instruction in Breton at all levels in subjects relating to Breton history, geography and culture had not been met. Equally the creation of independent Breton universities that had been sought from that date had simply remained an idea (at the date of the article, 1973). The Breton language was nonetheless given a new impulse. Before 1968, it had been in 1951, the year of the promulgation of the 'Loi Deixonne',³³ that - according to

32. See: Hémon, R. (1947 : 117) 'Petition pour les Langues provinciales', addressed to the 'Corps Legislatif', signed by 'un basquisant, le Comte H. de Charencey, et deux celtisants, H. Gaidoz et Ch. de Gaulle'.

33. In 1951 the 'Loi Deixonne' was promulgated recognising official status within primary, secondary and university education for those non-French languages traditionally spoken in the territory of France.

Tabouret-Keller (1981 : 10) discussed its contents which can be summarised as follows:

- the languages (Basque, Breton, Catalan, Alsatian,...) were not a matter of obligatory study;
- their study remained optional even in examinations like the Baccalauréat;
- in primary and secondary education only 1 hour a week for language and 10 to 20 hours a year for history or regional civilization were permitted.

Wardhaugh (1987 : 104) insists that even with some alterations (i.e. the weighting of the results) and also with another law of 11 July 1975, out of a total school population of 10 million, only 4,900 studied Breton, 1,300 Basque and 1,200 Catalan in 1977-78. He concludes: "there was still a drastic lack of teachers, materials and possibly too, of will". See Wardhaugh (1987 : 118) on the Conseil de Défense et Promotion des Langues de France, and Marcellesi (1975; 1979 : 71).

Finally, Bourhis (1982) in his review of 'Language policies and language attitudes : le monde de la francophonie', makes the following comment: "However, the 'Loi Deixonne' is seen by many as too limited since these second language classes are only optional, often scheduled at inconvenient times and are assigned to teachers who lack proper second language training skills" (Bouchard Ryan and Giles, 1982 : 40).

Timm - 'L'Union pour la Défense de la Langue Bretonne' extracted from the government permission to make teaching in Breton a theoretical option in the Lycées and Écoles Normales (1973 : 293). The requests for the establishment of Breton as a national language dated back to the period after World War I. A strong movement for teaching in Breton in local schools promoted by 'L'Union pour l'Enseignement du Breton' had persuaded over one half of the 635 Breton-speaking communities to support this demand by 1939. However, by 1951 this demand had still not been met by the French government.

The author, in concluding, posed the question of whether Breton would be displaced in the near future or whether, as a result of the recent enthusiasm, it would be preserved by the will of the Breton people.

Seven years later, Timm again took up the topic of language shift in the same Breton context³⁴. Her study of the use of Breton in sixteen different domains ranging from family and neighbourhood to school and oral media, seemed to indicate that:

"the conditions for the maintenance of Breton among the native bretonnants - Breton-speaking population - are not very favourable".

(1980 : 33)

She repeated that in the school domain it was only very recently (1970) that candidates could opt to take their Baccalauréat exams in Breton for credit. Furthermore, in 1971, 'regional' language courses as supplementary could be offered at secondary level, although the difficulties raised

34. Fieldwork was carried out in 1975-1976

by schedules and remuneration of teachers made it difficult to implement the offer.

Her final assessment finished with a rather dismal prospect, insisting on the fact that Breton was "gradually being eased out of use in many domains" (1980 : 39) because the family, cafés, agricultural work and senior citizens' clubs were the only favourable domains³⁵ for the use of Breton. Also, there were other "troublesome matters" to add: the fact that native Breton speakers did not speak the language as often as desirable³⁶ to offer a base for the new learners of the language; the increase in the ratio of francophones to Breton speakers, which seemed to be in favour of the former; the lack of a written tradition and the need for more effort to produce written materials at present; and finally the handicap that the Breton population was largely illiterate in Breton.

While Timm discussed the recent enthusiasm among new Breton speakers as a means of preserving the language in an unfavourable set of conditions, Berger pointed to another danger. Having explored the role of politics and culture, she concluded her study by mentioning one element already present in discussions on the languages already dealt with - industrialization. However, her final remarks mention more a change of direction rather than on the situation itself. She finishes by stressing this shift:

35. Cf. Fishman (1965).

36. See Wardhaugh (1987 : 110) on the efforts of the 'néo-bretonnants' (new-Bretonists) to promote the language 'which appear to bypass most Bretons, particularly those who actually use the language'.

"In sum, what this analysis suggests is that the future of ethnicity in France depends not on the survival of linguistic and cultural differences but on the way that the changing relationships between center and periphery are perceived and politically interpreted. Ethnic symbols are a means for expressing a revolt against inequalities, against loss of power, and against the impersonality and homogeneity of advanced industrial society".

(1977 : 177-178)

3.4.2 Scotland

The next case to be studied is Gaelic in Scotland³⁷ which appears in Allardt's classification as both 'Small' in resources and 'Weak' in ethnic mobilization.

Esman, in an article on Scottish nationalism (1977 : 264), stated that:

"There are Gaelic-language enthusiasts in the SNP, which may help to account for its successes in Highland constituencies. Though the SNP favours special efforts to promote Gaelic culture, there is no question of transforming Scotland into a Gaelic-speaking nation (38). There is no language issue in Scotland".

This quotation came shortly after his exposition of the decline in the number of speakers of the Gaelic language which, according to figures in the same article, had dropped since 1707 from 30% of Scottish families, most of whom lived in the Highlands and Western Islands, to 1.5% of Scottish

37. As for Scots, a language also associated with Scotland, see Williamson, T.K. 'Lowland Scots in Education: A Survey of Attitudes and Policy, Past and Present', 1982, Ph.D. University of Edinburgh, for information on the past and present situation in education.

38. Cf. Greene (1980).

families, all of them bilingual³⁹.

In the same year, McKinnon published his study of a Gaelic community, Harris. After posing the question of the continued existence of the Gaelic community as a problem requiring explanation, he offered the view that:

"The persistence of Gaelic speech has to be explained in terms of language-maintenance rather than in terms of overt activist language-loyalty
(1977 : 5)

In his survey he covered not only the patterns of use but the language attitudes of the community from youngsters to adults, and especially those of teenagers, even those who due to the educational system had to live away from home to continue their secondary studies. The school was considered important

"as an agent of control operating at symbolic and physical levels within island society"
(1977 : 58)

McKinnon's study therefore covered Primary and Secondary school students in detail and he came to the conclusion that studies of confidence in attitudes towards language supported the impression that children maintained a favourable image of Gaelic and its culture. However, his complementary study of the adult community also indicated that Gaelic had been subjected to the process of language-shift out of many domains of public life.

39. Cf. Gaelic speakers as a percentage of the population aged 3 or over according to the 1971 and 1981 census:

Total speakers		Speakers, readers but not writers		Speakers, readers and writers		Others, including speakers only	
1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
1.8	1.6	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.7

In his assessment and prognosis of Gaelic in Scotland Thomson quoted the 1971 Census figures which indicated a rise of 9.8% in the number of speakers, although the author commented that, in the case of some new Gaelic speakers, "the wish was father to the thought" (1981 : 10).

When commenting on the re-building of confidence among Gaelic speakers in their own language with periods of renewed emphasis versus weaker ones, Thomson insisted on depicting a less than rosy picture for the future of the language. This was due to its 'parochialization' and equation with folk-culture rather than being taken as a feature of national life shared more fully by all sectors of the population. Thomson also stressed that, although all contributions were welcome in this task - from individuals and groups alike - only large-scale involvement by a national government would reverse the unfavourable trend in Gaelic. This was however an objective which did not seem very likely to be achieved⁴⁰.

In a paper presented at a Conference on Minority Languages in Central Scotland (Glasgow, Nov. 21, 1981), Campbell dealt with Gaelic as one of the languages under scrutiny. His exposition can be summarized under the term 'differences'; Gaelic was seen as less well-protected when compared with languages of well-established communities outside Great Britain, or even with another native British minority language such as Welsh.

40. Cf. Williams' (1982 : 12) comment on the situation described as one of "paradox" : "a clearly defined territory and a strong sense of national identity, but a traditionally weak and ambiguous political nationalism".

For an expanded discussion on the 'paradox', cf. McIver (1982).

These differences in the official situation vis-à-vis Welsh corresponded to status, educational system, broadcasting, and even publishing. The author commented on the attitudes of Gaelic speakers who had been influenced by the educational system which had contributed to making the children "undervalue both themselves and their native tongue". He added that although the trend at the present moment was being altered Gaelic-English bilingualism was not taken into account anywhere, except in certain parts of the Western Isles.

The final comment on this brief review⁴¹ can be taken from Edwards (1985 : 68) who observes that:

"Scots Gaelic, now spoken mainly in the Hebrides, is also in difficulty"

and, again comparing it with Welsh, he remarks that the shift in Scotland to English was more complete even if, unlike Wales, Scotland had never been conquered by the English (cf. Khleif, 1979 : 61).

3.4.3 Wales

Finally, the position of Welsh will be examined. Its speakers were classified by Allardt in 1979 in identical terms to those of the Basque language in Spain: "Medium" in resources and "High" in Ethnic Mobilization.

In an article written in 1957 by H. Pilch on bilingualism in Wales, the author opened his discussion of the situation by stating that:

41. See: Aitken & McArthur (1979) for a more detailed discussion of the 'Languages of Scotland' in terms of historical background, range of uses, status, studies, etc.

"Au Pays de Galles le bilinguisme n'est pas à l'heure actuelle un phénomène universel"

(1957 : 1)

(In Wales nowadays bilingualism is not a universal phenomenon).

and proceeded to quote the figures obtained from the Report on Welsh Speaking Population from the 1951 Census where 27.2% of the population is described as bilingual, 61.1% do not know Welsh⁴² and 1.7% are Welsh monoglots.

Pilch attempted a survey of word loans and lexical and phonetical borrowings as exponents of the relationship between linguistic change and the social condition of a language in a bilingual context. As an introduction to his study the author offered his personal experience of the sociological status of Welsh. He claimed that the average Welsh speaker was not only ashamed of the language but all the more proud to speak English. He presented his personal experience of the country where, in his words:

"Il est probable qu'un étranger pouvait vivre longtemps dans le pays avant de s'apercevoir qu'il y existe une autre langue que l'anglais"

(1957 : 15)

(Probably a foreigner might live a long time in the country before realising that there is another language other than English).

In his conclusions he qualified both languages in terms of prestige, speaking of Welsh as the "langue de prestige inférieur", and English as the "langue de prestige supérieur". This situation, he explained in his last paragraph, was present among other bilingual societies in North Germany, in Flanders and among the linguistic minorities in the States.

42. The correct figure for non-Welsh speakers = 71.1%, Census 1951.

A few years prior to the visit of Pilch, W.R. Jones (1949, 1950) had carried out a survey in a Secondary School of pupils' attitudes towards the learning of Welsh. Although the population in these surveys was very different from the one encountered by Pilch, the results indicated that 84.29% of the subjects between 11 and 16 years of age declared themselves to be in favour of learning the language and only 15.71% of the pupils had no desire to learn it. When other results in the same study are taken into account, such as the figures for rejection of grammar lessons, there is another possible interpretation for the lack of interest expressed. It is possible that it is the methodology, i.e. the teaching of grammar itself, which is being rejected rather than the language per se. However, it is also possible that the figures indicate a decrease in interest with age, with the older group showing a progressive lack of interest⁴³ and the out-of-school linguistic environment being a potent source of influence on attitudes to Welsh.

On the whole, it would be difficult to fit these interpretations into Pilch's description which emphasizes apathy towards the language.

An opposite image to that of Pilch's is to be found in the Gittins Report (1968) where the picture of Welsh was presented as the core of Welsh life:

"...The Welsh language is still a vital element in the particular identity of Wales, in spite of its retreat in the face of mass-communications and vast economic and social changes".

(1968 : 212).

43. Cf. Sharp's comment (1973 : 14): "Pupils' attitudes towards the two languages change as they grow older, English gaining favour and Welsh losing it on average".

This report also contradicted Pilch when it said:

"It is still impossible to live in many parts of Wales without becoming aware of the language as a strong factor in the peculiar colour and flavour of the national life".

(ibidem)

The Report's appeal for the implementation of Welsh was based on identity rather than communication which it was acknowledged could be effectively done in English.

"Although a Welshman is what he is without the language since he takes part in the ways of life and traditions of Wales and vicariously lives in the language, he would, we feel, be a fuller Welshman if he possessed his ancestral tongue".

(ibidem)

These premises are evidenced in some of the findings in the Parental Attitude section of the survey: 78% of those Welsh speaking parents who had considered that knowing Welsh was an advantage thought that Welsh enabled its speaker to communicate with the family and community, thus stressing communication and identification; 53% of all parents saw definite advantages in their child learning Welsh, whereas only 45% could see no positive advantage.

In this Gittins survey, the decline of the Welsh speaking population is mentioned, stating that between the Censuses of 1901 and 1961, the proportion of Welsh speakers fell by half⁴⁴. The conclusion reached in this study is that "Our own survey suggests that the decline is continuing" (ibid., 230). This mention of loss of speakers of the language is continuously alluded to in any discussion on the

44. Cf. Proportion of population speaking Welsh at successive censuses 1921-1981.

Percentage of persons speaking Welsh only						Percentage of all persons speaking Welsh					
1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981
6.3	4.0	1.7	1.0	1.3	0.8	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9

situation of the language accompanied by gloomy predictions, usually for its future, in spite of efforts for its maintenance and its revival.

Lewis (1978) discussing the numerical decline of the Welsh language quoted the figures for the 1971 Census in which, in the previous ten years, there had been a decline of 5.1% in people who claimed to be able to speak Welsh to some extent and an increase of 0.3% of those who claimed to be able to speak Welsh only. But if the figures for the English and Welsh speaking population were analysed between 1891 and 1971, then the proportion of the population who were bilingual was very much the same in 1961 as in 1891 (25% and 24% respectively); Welsh monolingual speakers declined from 29% to 1% (from 540,000 to 26,000) while English monolinguals rose from 41% to 74%. The impact of this decline on the number of bilinguals was even greater, if the population size was considered, for it had increased from 1.8 million in 1891 to 2.6 million in 1961.

In his final assessment Lewis remarked on the progress achieved by the Welsh language not only in form, but in status as well, attributing this to language planning. For Lewis this could not have occurred without some planning for the survival of the language. He was of the opinion that future planning should now be directed towards improving quality, otherwise the success achieved in 'competence' would not be paralleled in 'performance' and a contradictory situation would emerge in which a language which had lost its 'naturalness' of use was being maintained.

Madgwick, commented on the complexity of the situation, and mentioned some of the factors that within the complexities gave some strength to the language. Public goodwill, the renewed emphasis on the teaching of Welsh in education and the increase of broadcasting in Welsh⁴⁵, were mentioned and he concluded that:

"Nevertheless, the comparative and specialist evidence discourages any objective more ambitious than the preservation of Welsh at its present modest minority of one speaker in Wales among five"

(1976 : 4).

Before dealing in some detail with "the government of the language" he concluded his appraisal of the linguistic conflict in Wales in words that could have been used as a summary of his analysis of the politicisation of the language issue:

"Conflict over language is likely to continue, and governments, both of the UK and within Wales, must learn to deal with it, not as an occasional nuisance but as a persisting challenge to democratic values and good government"

(ibid., 8).

Khleif (1979 : 60) having described the situation of the ethnic awakening of some groups in the First World - Scots, Welsh, ... Basques or what he terms, "The Third World of the First World"⁴⁶ - as "re-tribalization", stressed a fact apparent in any review of linguistic conflict:

45. See: Evans (1978) for information on Welsh in the community, among other facts, in James, C.V. (ed.): 'The older mother tongues of the United Kingdom'.

46. Cf. for a lengthier explanation of the term Khleif (1980). Special emphasis is put on "...What is important about the 'Third World in the First World' is not merely economic backwardness or underdevelopment, but the fact that such category of regions within old, independent nation-states represent ETHNICALLY, LINGUISTICALLY, or CULTURALLY distinct entities: Scotland ... to a certain extent, the Basque country in Spain, although Spain itself is basically an underdeveloped part of Europe..." (p. 261).

"an emphasis on language is usually an emphasis on something else - on dignity and economic power" (ibid., 61)

In mentioning the figures from the Census (1971) when retracing the historical decline of the Welsh language, Khleif offered a more encouraging interpretation than previous studies:

"Currently, a lot of effort is expended into reviving the Welsh language and arresting its decline. This is in part as a result of the 1971 Census statistics that shocked Welsh-speaking Welshmen" (p. 66).

He emphasized the importance of the language as "the pedigree of a people"⁴⁷ telescoping

"the whole bi-ethnic controversy, a controversy that not only involves Englishmen and Welshmen, but also Welsh-speaking Welshmen vs. English-speaking Welshmen"

(ibidem).

In his final conclusion he presents Wales as an example of the clash between traditionalism and modernization⁴⁸, and it is the language which seems to be the ground where some of the changes have to be accommodated.

Finally, to conclude this summary review, the opinion of B.L. Jones will be used as a last comment on the situation of Welsh in the present day. His stress was placed on the erosion and break-up of 'an extensive core of pervading Welshness' as well as on the disappearance of Welsh monolinguals already mentioned by other authors. Although the situation of the speakers varies from area to area with different rates of intensity - from three or more in every

47. Cf. Johnson: "I am always sorry when any language is lost because languages are the pedigree of nations" (Boswell, 1786 : 310).

48. Cf. Gardner-Chloros on Alsatian (1983); Berger (1977) on Breton.

four of the population to under one in ten or less - and there is an acknowledged linguistic vitality, his final appraisal is of

"rapid ill-charted shift; its future is uncertain and , on the basis of any statistical⁴⁹ projection, darkly foreboding".

Nevertheless, and as in previous occasions in other linguistic communities, he mentions the will of the people who have to reassert the native language as an essential distinctive face of their authenticity and it will be their decision too to alter its position to a central rather than a marginal one.

3.5 Summary

The sample of languages discussed covers the range of possible positions for languages that could have been at some time, or still are, termed as 'minority languages'⁵⁰, defined as those languages 'at risk' (Simpson, 1980) which could be described in the words of Aitken (1981 : VII) as languages

"threatened, pressured, beleaguered, being encroached on, in recession, declining, dying in face of a culturally dominant language".

Although there might be differences in the circumstances of the languages, the starting point for seeking these similarities could be what Haugen (1971) described as "the ecology

49. For an attempt at obtaining a better interpretation of census data in Wales, cf. Ambrose and Williams (1980).

50. Cf. the term MINORISED LANGUAGES used in the Congress on 'Sociología de las Lenguas Minorizadas' held in Getxo, October 1984.

Covarrubia (1984): MINORISED as different from MINORITY, the latter referring basically to number of speakers; the former to the functions of the language irrespective of its widespread usage.

of language" and Fishman (1965) had aptly summed up with four meaningful questions concisely stated as: who speaks what language, to whom and when.

Finally, having sketched briefly the situation of some bilingual communities, and have referred on occasions to the attitudes of their speakers towards the language itself or the context in which it is to be found, a review of studies carried out on attitudes and language learning seems to be called for as an application of surveying attitudes towards language.

Ornstein and Murphy, in their study on 'Models and Approaches in Sociolinguistic Research on Language Diversity', having discussed the psychological approach used by Lambert and others and the implications of the findings of their experiments especially for bilingual educational programmes, highlighted this pragmatic aspect in these terms:

"it is also encouraging to note that social scientists of the calibre of Lambert and Tucker should be as vitally concerned with the 'practical issues' ... as they were with the more theoretical issues..."
(1974 : 160).

Bentahila, in his review of the approaches to the study of bilingualism (1983 : 16 ff), mentions the diverse view points from which it has been examined: Firstly that of the linguists who have discussed its different definitions, or examined interference, linguistic transfer from one language into another or code switching; secondly that of the psycholinguists analysing aspects such as the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence, or the

distinction between compound and co-ordinate bilinguals, or examining how attitudes towards language might have some influence on the learning process. Thirdly, he mentioned the view corresponding to the sociologists looking at the ways in which language use reflects and represents socio-cultural values and, finally, he mentioned the interdisciplinary approach - psychology, sociology, and linguistics - which would overcome the drawback of bilingualism treated as restricted to just one single discipline⁵¹. It is this approach that Bentahila favours for his survey of the attitudes of Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco.

It is also this view which will be encountered in the review of some aspects of language attitudes in their relation to language learning which is also important to educationalists. The standpoint is eclectic and not limited to any single discipline.

51. Cf. Cooper and Fishman (1974 : 17) on researchers in attitude theory and in sociolinguistics largely ignoring the theoretical concerns and empirical findings of the other which was unfortunate since 'each research tradition can enrich the other'.

CHAPTER 4

Attitudes and Language Learning

4.1 Attitudes : some considerations

In a review of studies carried out on attitudes and language learning a sensible starting point might be an exploration of the term 'attitude'. However such an examination is no easy task and it could easily become an object of study in itself. But although the search for a 'consensus' definition of the term will not be aimed at¹, it might be enlightening for a better interpretation of the present work to touch on two salient aspects².

Therefore, the focus of this brief analysis will consider:

- . differences in the definition of the term
- . the correlation between attitude and behaviour.

In 1935, Allport when defining the term wrote:

"An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related"

(1935 : 80)

1. A task which might not prove feasible, since Allport more than thirty years ago considered that the concept was "a meeting point for discussion and research" (1954 : 19) due to the very different definitions and meanings ascribed to the term by psychologists and sociologists alike. Furthermore, in 1970, Agheyisi and Fishman, were even more categoric in their appreciation stating that : "The concept of attitude has been variously defined and characterized by almost every theorist or researcher who has concerned himself with attitude studies" (1970 : 137).

2. Other aspects such as duration, malleability, etc. will not be discussed.

This comprehensive definition³ seems to have been widely adopted in substance, even if there are variations in the form of the expressions of the term⁴. However, a very different interpretation has been put forward, illustrated for example by the claim made by Bain (1928) that the only way to determine attitudes was by observation of overt behaviour.

These two views could be placed at the two extremes of a series of definitions of the term 'attitude'. They illustrate the considerable difference between the two competing theories about the nature of attitude : the 'mentalist' interpretation, as a predisposition and the 'behaviourist' view according to which attitudes are found in the responses people make in social situations.

For research purposes these alternative views impinge on a methodological issue. If the behaviourist approach is accepted, then only overt behaviour can be taken as reflecting an existing attitude. If, on the other hand, the mentalist approach is accepted, the predisposition to view things in a certain way may be understood as a predisposition also to act accordingly. Therefore the orientation of the research will differ depending on which theory is favoured.

3. See Oskamp (1977 : 9); Jaspars (1978 : 256).

4. See Oskamp (1977 : 7).

In the present case, research into an enquiry on attitudes seems to be justified by the assumption that attitudes are predictive of conduct⁵. This position is intermediate between the view that predispositions could not be ascertained⁶ and the view that the detection of attitudes could only be established after overt behaviour.

However, this assumption that attitude and behaviour are closely related has been questioned on the grounds of lack of sufficient evidence (Wicker, 1969). Verbal measures, it has been pointed out, do not always correspond to the matching overt behaviour. La Piere's experiment⁷ where people did not behave in the same racially prejudiced way as they did when responding by letter to the same stimulus, is illustrative of most of the objections and arguments about the low correlation between attitudes and behaviour.

The existence of this inconsistency may be a cause for concern when attempting research in the area of attitudes, if the results are to be used as predictors of future behaviour. However, the research has offered plausible explanations for the discrepancy (Jaspars, 1978) pointing out that the reason for not very strong correlations between

5. See Cohen (1966)

6. See Rokeach (1968)

7. An American sociologist, R. T. La Piere, took a Chinese couple on a three-month car journey across USA, in 1934. They stopped at 250 hotels and restaurants and only in one of them were they refused service.

After the journey La Piere wrote to each one of the establishments asking whether they would accept Chinese customers. Only 50% of the proprietors answered and of these 90% said that they would not serve Chinese.

measured attitudes and behaviour lies in the influence of other factors (personal, situational, ...). Recent investigations⁸ have shown considerable correspondence between attitudes and behaviour when these various factors are taken into account, and, when both the attitudes and the behaviour are properly assessed.

Although the stimulus-response connection might be disrupted by the presence of other elements which could count as an explanation of rather low correlations, in the case of language there seems to be more agreement (Gardner & Taylor, 1968; Giles, 1970, 1971, 1977; Smith, 1973, etc.) on establishing a strong correlation. Smith pointed out this fact in a way that sums up much of the previous discussion:

"... it is also assumed that there exists a direct concomitant, if not causal, relationship between attitudes and behaviour in that how one evaluates the speech of another person will have an effect upon how he acts towards that person ..."

(1973 : 97)

This assumption is in the background of all research into the various aspects of language attitudes which will be briefly examined in the next section.

8. See Wrightsman & Deaux, 1981.

4.2 Language Attitudes

In his review of Language Attitudes, Fasold (1984) established a threefold classification for studies on language attitude:

- . those strictly limited to attitudes towards the language itself (evaluation of a language as 'beautiful', 'ugly', ...)

- . those related to attitudes toward speakers of a language or dialect (stereotypes ...)

- . those dealing with all kinds of behaviour concerning language to be treated (language maintenance, language planning, ...).

These three divisions correspond to those used by Agheysi and Fishman (1970) as categories to revise the 'sociolinguistic literature' on language attitude:

- . those dealing with language-orientated or language-directed attitude (evaluation and ratings)

- . those dealing with community-wide stereotyped impressions towards particular languages or language varieties (social significance)

- . those concerned with the implementation of different types of language attitude (language choice and use, language reinforcement and planning, language learning, ...).

This third category is summed up by the authors as "studies dealing with all kinds of language behaviour, or behaviour towards language" (1970 : 141).

Cooper (1980) in his review of sociolinguistic surveys, stressed the importance of this dichotomy for discussing

sociolinguistic behaviour. He then classified language behaviour in three categories: proficiency, acquisition and usage, and behaviour towards language could be classified as either 'attitudinal' - having to be inferred - or 'implementational' - being observable. All these categories and behaviour responses could be examined at the level of micro or macrosociolinguistics.

However, such refined divisions might mask the fact that language behaviour *and* behaviour towards language are intertwined, and hence the convenience of attempting surveys in more than one of the divisions.

The present study is concerned with attitudes related to the language as well as towards its speakers, both aspects being felt to be intimately related. Therefore, although the research was designed mainly to examine the attitudes towards the speakers of a language, it has also complemented this main objective with information obtained from attitudes towards the language itself. The present survey aims at contributing not only to a better understanding of the social structure of the community, but also to a possible application in education. Therefore, all the information gathered from as many angles as possible - evaluation of the language, proficiency, stereotypes of the speakers, ... - has been compiled in the realisation of a possible connection between language attitude and the process of learning.

The following section covers a summary review of work carried out exploring this connection.

4.3 Language Attitude and Learning : an overall view.

Awareness of such a relationship must have always been an intuition on the part of every competent teacher⁹. As far back as 1945 Arsenian asked the concise question

"In what way do affective factors, such as social prestige, assumed superiority, or enforcement of a hated language by a hated nation affect language learning in a child?"

(1945 : 85)

In subsequent years attempts have been made to give empirical support to such an intuition. The review of literature below is related to the attitudes of the students¹⁰ and to what effect - if any - the attitudinal component might have on the learning process.

Almost twenty years ago, Lambert (1967) in a discussion on social psychological aspects of second language learning stated that the success of learning a new language was determined by the learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes towards the group who spoke the language. It was also the attitudes of the learner and the type of orientation towards learning the second language - whether 'instrumental' or 'integrative' - that determined his motivation. And the results of his studies confirmed that achievement in the language was dependent to a large extent on a sympathetic orientation towards the language group which included motivation, type of orientation and social attitudes.

9. See Gardner (1979 : 194)

10. Studies focusing on the impact of teachers' attitudes have also attracted the interest of researchers (Taylor, 1973 ; Williams, 1973 ; etc.)

In 1968, in a revision and discussion of the work done at McGill by him and others on the social psychological aspect of learning with varying samples, settings and languages, all confirmed that those students who had a strong motivation and desire to learn did well in the new language. Of the two independent factors which seemed to underlie the development of skill in learning a second language, that is an intellectual capacity and an appropriate attitudinal orientation, it was the second one which seemed liable to alteration.

These statements opened an ample field of study on the various issues outlined by Lambert. At present research is still being carried out and two of the points which have been at the centre of discussions will be succinctly mentioned below.

4.3.1 Attitude towards the language group.

The requirement of a positive attitude towards the target group has been a point of contention. It was considered an important factor in the learning process by Lambert et al. (1960), and its influence has been accepted by other authors (Spolsky, 1969; Chastain, 1975; Schumann, 1975a, 1975b, etc.). However, not everybody has agreed on its pre-eminence (Teitelbaum et al., 1975; Prapphal and Oller, 1982; Theivananthampillai and Baba, 1984), or even its necessity. Macnamara (1973a, 1973b) insisted on communication, irrespective of the attitudes towards the group sustained by the learner, as the main contributor towards

successful learning. This need was also emphasized, among others, by Kennedy (1973) and Schumann (1975a) demanding the creation of situations where communication should be felt by the learner to be indispensable and desirable.

However, the importance of affective factors enhancing or inhibiting language acquisition in informal situations of direct exposure to the second language environment explored by Schumann (1975a) seems to be specially relevant in the context of a bilingual community. Aptitude was claimed to be more important for language learning through formal instruction¹¹, but 'post classroom' activities where authentic communication might occur more profusely would make the role of attitudes all the more relevant if they could favourably influence achievement in the new language. Besides, it was not only the attitudes of the students themselves which were to be taken into account, but those of the people who might also influence their perceptions (O'Doherty, 1969). A supportive attitude was found to be important not only from the parents (Burstall, 1969; Gardner, 1973; NFER, 1974), but from members of the target group (Genesee et al., 1983)¹², in trying to create a situation where "social distance" (Schumann, 1976a) would be minimized.

A question that was also considered well worth investigating was that of directionality. O'Doherty (1969) had already pointed to the two-way effect of a positive attitude

11. Cf. Nida, 1971.

12. Even the learners' 'perceptions' of support from the second language group.

towards the language group being related to the ease of learning and of a better knowledge implying a more favourable attitude towards the language group. Burstall (1978) had favoured the effect of early achievement in French as causal to later favourable attitudes, while Strong's research (1984) indicated again that it was the children with a better proficiency in the language who showed a greater desire to associate with members of the second language¹³.

The nature of this convergence movement towards the target language and the language group is the other aspect of interest to be discussed now. This also has proved to be a source of debate.

4.3.2 'Integrative' and 'Instrumental' orientation.

In the words of Lambert, the success of learning a new language is dependent, among other variables, on the learner's orientation. He distinguished an 'instrumental' orientation when

"the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation"

(1967 : 102)

from an 'integrative' one where

"the student is oriented to learn more about the other cultural community, as if he desired to become a potential member of the other group"

(ibidem)

13. A further aspect of this study was the possibility that the integrative motivation operated differently with adults than with children.

Cf. Schumann (1975) for a discussion on age in the process of second language acquisition.

While the dichotomy was thus clearly established in theory, it has not always been so easily maintained in practice. What for some researchers was considered to be 'integrative' was clearly labelled as 'instrumental' by others (Lukmani, 1972; Burstall et al., 1974; etc.).

This ambiguity based on the criteria of the individuals at work (Oller et al., 1977) was at the basis of inconsistency in the results of different studies. To avoid such a pitfall Jones (1979) tried to narrow down some of the conditions set up in the orientation index. For example, if such an instrument was to be sensitive, integrative options should not be open to non-integrative interpretations, and both 'integrative' or 'instrumental' should be realistic alternatives. Thus indeterminate results might be clarified.

The interest on delimiting either form of orientation was based on the claim that the integratively oriented students were generally more successful in acquiring the new language than those who were instrumentally oriented¹⁴. Later research (Lukmani, 1972) presented results which caused a reappraisal of this categoric statement. Teitelbaum et al. (1975) questioned this dichotomous treatment of all language motivation and considered this division not only arbitrary but also culturally biased.

Gardner (1985) in his detailed review of the problem of attitudes towards learning and the individual's orientation

14. Cf. Oller (1982) for a discussion on learning associated even with anti-integrative motives; Alptekin (1981) for pedagogical implications of a conflict between the learners' orientation and a different orientation to language teaching and problems of anomie; Brown (1980) on the problems of instrumentally orientated learners learning in the target sociocultural context.

to language study indicated that the distinction between orientation and motivation should be maintained. He explained that although it was true that some studies had shown that integratively orientated individuals were more highly motivated than instrumentally motivated ones, the latter also demonstrated high levels of motivation which would maintain their sustained effort in learning the new language.

Multifarious research had taken place between the first indication of different results based on an alternative orientation and the demand for conceptual clarity. The focus had been on demonstrating the importance of the motivational component linking attitudes and achievement¹⁵.

However, the conclusion that emerges from the discussion of the literature is that each orientation implies motivation on the part of the student which is necessary in the learning process. The existence of either orientation associated with an interest in continuing the language study is expressly acknowledged and Gardner insists on the fact that

"Postulating that achievement in a second language is promoted by an integrative motive is not tantamount to saying that this is the only cause or predictor"

(1985 : 83)

Nevertheless he is adamant in his reaffirmation that an integrative motive and language aptitude are the only two individual differences which "have been well documented to date" as being implicated in the language learning process.

15. See Gardner, 1985.

From the investigations that have been set up to research which variable makes it possible for an instrumental orientation to equate with an integrative one, those related to context and setting must be mainly taken into account.

The stress on the influence of social factors was highlighted by Schumann (1976a). Positive or negative attitudes would be reflected in either social distance or proximity between the members of the two groups. This situation would affect the acquisition of the target language whereby if not only a psychological distance - factors concerned with the individual - but also a social one - factors related to the group - prevailed, then a 'pidginization',¹⁶ of the second language would result¹⁷.

The social milieu was reappraised by Gardner (1979) and also the importance of assessing the beliefs of a particular community¹⁸ with respect to acquiring a second language.

The conclusion was that an additive or subtractive bilingualism¹⁹ would influence the significance of the integrative orientation. Taylor et al. (1977) had also insisted on a threat to ethnic identity as a separate motivational cluster, besides the integrative and

16. The second language would be restricted to the 'communicative' function since the 'integrative' and 'expressive' ones would be unattainable in the circumstances.

17. For a more detailed discussion, Schumann, 1978; Corder, 1980.

18. See the schema proposed by Giles et al., 1977, in order to study particular communities where status demography and institutional support would help to assess ethno-linguistic vitality.

19. Lambert's idea of 'subtractive' bilingualism where the learner might 'lose' part of his native cultural and linguistic capabilities, rather than gain new ones.

instrumental ones. Those who felt their cultural identity to be threatened were less fluent in the second language²⁰.

All the above considerations add detail and qualify the general proposition of a rough division into two types of orientation. However, they not only refine the statement but they also open new possibilities of co-existence or absence of pre-eminence of either orientation under certain circumstances.

4.3.3. Reappraisal

Over the years there have been demands for the revision of the original propositions (Oller et al., 1977; Oller, 1979) and of the instruments used in the research to ascertain and substantiate fully the working hypotheses of a connection between language attitude and language acquisition. *Such questions* needed to be satisfactorily answered if the claims for the part played by attitudes in the learning of a second language were to be accepted.

The revision basically centered on a reconsideration of definitions (e.g. Jones, 1979), the validity of the measures employed (e.g. Oller & Perkins, 1978) and a reassessment of the original propositions (e.g. Chihara & Oller, 1978).

Gardner et al. (1985) in this continuous trend of revising and experimenting, worked once more on this relationship between attitudes and proficiency in the second

20. See Nida (1971); Schumann (1975a), on language prejudice and language shock as one of the aspects of 'culture shock'. Also O'Doherty (1969), for the symbolic significance the first language would acquire for a minority linguistic group 'under threat of extermination', thus making difficult the learning of another language.

language. In order to provide more empirical support for their claims on the role of attitudes and motivation and language aptitude in second language, new research in laboratory conditions was undertaken²¹. The experiment²² had a double aim: firstly, to determine the validity of the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery as a predictor of achievement in the second language; it measured affective factors but no other extraneous components as had been claimed²³; secondly, to determine whether achievement in L2 is dependent in part on attitudes and motivation and in part on language aptitude, and, to corroborate research on a 'causal' interpretation of either component in the learning process.

The results indicated that there was a significant correlation between the Attitude/Motivation Index and objective and self report indices of second language proficiency. Language aptitude correlated with proficiency in the objective indices but not in the self report ones however. And finally, this measure of Attitudinal and Motivational Characteristics-Index did not correlate with language aptitude.

As to the 'causality',²⁴ of the role played on the one hand by attitudes and motivation, and on the other hand by

21. See Le Mahieu (1984) for laboratory research on the effect of attitudes and motivation on the learners' competence and control of the second language, following Bialystok's model of language proficiency. The results indicated that attitudes and motivation correlated more strongly with control than with competence.

22. Subjects with different aptitudes, attitudes and motivations were studied to determine how well and how quickly they would learn some material - French vocabulary - using two different ways of presentation, visual and aural.

23. Cf. Oller & Perkins, 1978.

24. See Burstall (1978) and Schumann (1978) for discussions of causal factors and those that merely altered the effects of the causal factors.

aptitude, the results indicated that both sets of factors influenced the rate at which the second language material was learned. A different plausible explanation was offered for each case. Subjects with high aptitude were more able to incorporate the material as it was presented while those with better affective factors tended to work harder at that in which they were more interested²⁵.

Although extrapolating results and generalizing from this type of finding might present some difficulties because language acquisition is a far more complex process than this kind of research in a laboratory, the role not only of the aptitudinal but of the social and psychological components seemed to play a part.

If this limited research provided answers to some of the queries, Gardner has dealt at length with all the issues raised so far in his book **Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation** (1985), a recapitulation of work done on the topic since 1959.

On the crucial subject of reliability and validity of the measures, he insisted once more²⁶ on the use of "scales developed for the purpose of assessing the constructs of interest" (1985 : 173) rather than "simple item measures of a construct and/or defining measures based on post hoc factor analyses of item responses" (ibidem).

25. As to supportive effort, it was generally the subjects with high scores on affective factors who were reported as trying harder and as being more interested in the material used. In relation to the mode of presentation the rate of learning was more rapid under visual/written conditions compared with aural/oral ones.

26. See Gardner, Lalonde & Moorcroft (1985).

The reexamination of terminology might be answered by the coining of new expressions around the original tentative definition, such as 'additive' or 'subtractive' bilingualism (Lambert, 1974), or 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (Giles et al., 1977) which have reassessed the integrative motivation taking into account the contextual aspect.

Finally as to a reassessment of the original propositions, Gardner²⁷ summed up his review almost thirty years after the initial research:

"... it would appear, that attitudes and motivation are implicated not only in second language acquisition but also second language attrition"

(1985 : 176)

Even if there was no explicit indication of whether the relation was weak or strong and taking into account all the reconsiderations without discarding any of the objections raised by researchers, the conclusion can be summed up as follows: there was no solid ground for the invalidation of the general proposition that achievement in second language was mediated by attitudinal and motivation variables. Moreover, new areas should be explored in the role of these components present not only in the learning but also in the retention of a second language.

27. Cf. Gardner (1980 : 256): "Affective variables are predictably related to second language achievement."

4.4 Summary

It is more than twenty-five years since Lambert et al. started their research²⁸ on the relationship of affective factors with second language acquisition and, as has been mentioned, it is an area where empirical studies are still being carried out. This continuity may be interpreted as genuine interest on the part of psychologists, linguists, and of educators in trying to obtain a better understanding of the complex process of language learning.

This interest in variables related to the learner and not solely to the nature of the language or to teaching procedures may be due not only to a disenchantment *with* the efficacy of any new method per se, but to the awareness of a more interactional process²⁹ where subjects' specific characteristics might be afforded more importance. Some methods seem to bring out better results with certain students, or to obtain better results in some skills. However, affective factors are more pervasive, being present not only in formal instruction where the presentation of the material might have some incidence too, but in informal contexts as well.

This focusing on the learner implies a change of direction altogether in the conception of language teaching and learning. This shift is clearly summed up in the following paragraph taken from the chapter on "Sociolinguistics and

28. Earlier studies have been mentioned (Saer, 1923; Arsenian, 1945; Jones, 1949, 1950)... which indicate that the topic is by no means a new matter of interest, but a more systematic continuous empirical approach has been added since those earlier studies.

29. See Brown (1973), Pierson et al. (1980) for the need for an interdisciplinary approach in the research into language acquisition processes.

Language Teaching" of ECAL³⁰, by Criper and Widdowson:

"In the past, the language teacher has generally relied on the guidance of the grammarian's representation of language as an abstract system which has served as his principal reference. But if communicative competence is to be taught, the description of language at this degree of idealization is not sufficient. The teacher also needs to make reference to the kind of information that only a sociolinguistic approach to language description can provide"
(1975 : 20)

It may be that the assumption that communicative competence is what is to be taught in the classroom when dealing with students of Modern Languages in Secondary Education is in some cases, a bit far fetched. However, the immediacy of a bilingual context in the present case makes the Criper-Widdowson statement all the more appropriate for second language learning.

The need to investigate the attitudes of the subjects is a priority of this present sociolinguistic research project, given the connection we have made between affective factors and language learning³¹.

30. Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics.

31. See Giles et al. (1987) for an up-dated discussion on attitudes and motivation in Second Language Acquisition with special reference to the Basque context.

CHAPTER 5

Language Stereotypes : eliciting information

5.1 Introduction

In the field of research into attitudes and motivation in Second Language Learning, the work carried out by Lambert, Gardner et al., experimenting on various aspects of the social and psychological implications of language learning is repeatedly mentioned in the references to Second Language Acquisition. Numerous allusions are also made to the instrument, the 'matched-guise' technique¹, used in their experiments into the eliciting of stereotypes.

A brief reference to their surveys and to those of others using this instrument provides a good introduction to the research undertaken in the Basque country employing this technique, which is reported in Chapters 6-8. But first, a brief consideration of the background to this method will provide relevant introductory information to some aspects of the work now being reported.

5.2 Voice and Personality : some investigations

Trying to obtain descriptions of people relying solely on their voices, or on the way they speak, is a common endeavour, and sometimes we are specifically told of these intuitions by books with titles as definite as: **Personality**,

1. Complemented by other more traditional devices such as questionnaires, attitude scales, etc.

Appearance and Speech (Pear, 1957), or **Your Speech Reveals Your Personality** (Barbara, 1958), etc. And this summing up is not a novelty. There were attempts made more than fifty years ago reported by Allport and Cantril (1934), not only about personality in general, where the voice was considered to be

"a symbolic index of the total personality"
(Sapir, 1927)

but even of specific traits such as intelligence (Michael and Crawford, 1927), etc. However, in their experiments Allport and Cantril found evidence that indicated that "summary sketches" obtained better results than isolated single features. Another finding was that the results were correct more often for the traits and interests of personality than for physical features and appearance. These were the answers to the question posed of whether the voice conveyed any correct information concerning outer and inner characteristics of personality.

A few years later Fay and Middleton (1939) carried out a series of experiments trying to ascertain whether listeners would describe certain speakers who had been previously selected

"on the basis of their scores on the Allport and
Vernon study of values" (ibid., 154)

as representatives of these types. The six types were described as: theoretic, social, aesthetic, economic, political, and religious. The results of their experiments indicated that the mean percentages of total listeners' ratings for two representatives of each of these six Spranger types were

superior to chance, with a rather significant medium positive correlation between the listeners' ratings of Spranger value types and the actual types themselves. Three of those types - political, aesthetic and social - were the most accurately judged, and, finally, certain voices were regarded as stereotypes impressing the listeners as being the voices of persons who might correspond to one of these particular value types.

More recently, other elements have been introduced into this type of experiment rating personality characteristics, such as videotapes (Argyle et al., 1971) where the role of verbal and non-verbal signals was examined on the hypotheses that non-verbal signals for hostile-friendly attitudes would have more effect than verbal signals, and, that a person communicating inconsistent verbal and non-verbal cues would be rated as

"more unstable, confusing and insincere"

(ibid., 387)

than one communicating consistent verbal and non-verbal cues.

But the method of asking raters to rely merely on the voice is used very widely when requesting listeners to project their images of speakers in an analysis of the more diverse elements. A question that crops up in such analyses is twofold: What elements on the speakers' side give rise to specific images on the listeners and which if any, are the characteristics of the raters that might cause a different perception of the subjects.

Hart and Brown (1974) tried to investigate whether vocal characteristics (intonation, pitch and rate) revealed more about a speaker's attitudes than the content of his speech (ibid., 371). In their conclusions they discussed their results in relation to three areas of personality: Benevolence, Social Attractiveness and Competence. Benevolence attributes - kind, tolerant, just ... - seemed to reflect

"the quality and style of a person's relations with others" (ibid., 380).

Social Attractiveness attributes - sense of humour, sociable, likeable ... - seemed to describe

"the simple public objective aspects of a person" (ibidem).

Content seemed to convey most of the information for Benevolence attributes, while vocal characteristics had the same role for Social Attractiveness attributes. As for information related to Competence - intelligent, ambitious, confident ... - there was a different treatment for male or female subjects. In the case of female subjects this information was conveyed by the vocal aspect, while for male subjects both aspects of speech - content and vocal characteristics - were taken into account.

Aronovitch (1976) continued this line of research trying to investigate: a) what vocal parameters related to judgements of various personality characteristics - Self-doubting/Self-confident; Extrovert/Introvert; Kind/Cruel ... up to ten opposed choices, and b) whether those relationships between personality and vocal cues were

dependent upon either the sex of the speaker or the sex of the rater. The results of his experiments supported the idea of 'voice stereotype', where particular traits were assigned to particular kinds of voices. Furthermore, these 'voice stereotypes' were based, at least in part, on distinctive, measurable properties of the human voice. As for the sex of the raters, it did not seem to show as significant a difference as the sex of the speakers, and the perceptions of the speakers might

"reflect cultural stereotypes of sex differences"
(ibid., 218).

Cook (1971) in a review of the literature on the information we use to help us judge other people stated, (when dealing with voice) that a considerable number of studies had been reported on the information conveyed by the voice and its accuracy. Although there were some characteristics which could be estimated quite reliably from voice - age, national or regional origin ... - other studies attempting to judge less surface characteristics, were in some cases wrong. However, what was interesting was that although the judges were wrong they agreed about the subject's personality,

"showing that there are stereotyped ideas about the
voice" (ibid., 68).

Kramer (1963) in his review of studies related to the relationship between voice and personality stressed the fact that

"'vocal stereotypes' have remained the most frequent finding in all studies of this relationship"
(ibid., 173).

In this discussion the studies were divided into two categories: those dealing with judgements of relatively stable characteristics of individuals and those related to judgements of emotional or affective variables. In all cases the problems of separating non-verbal aspects of the voice from the actual words spoken and the adequacy of criteria for the traits judged were pointed out. The conclusions were of a certain accuracy in judging the first category - age, height, body types ... - compared to less conclusive results as to aptitudes and interests. The reported results also offered stronger support for experiments carried out with summary sketches of personality rather than with isolated traits.

Although Kramer reported experiments trying to establish association between certain personality traits and particular voice qualities - having 'deleted' in various ways, the semantic content - he remarked that the studies did not provide

"the exact accoustical data which would be required to objectify the voice quality terms and permit cross-validation of the relationships"

(ibid., 175)

Laver (1968) proposed a labelling system for voice quality thus making it

"possible to communicate fairly reliably about voices, with a phonetically meaningful descriptive system"

(ibid., 195)

which would be made up of a number of phonetic terms each specifying a physiologically meaningful component of the voice quality. In this way not only would the communication

in writing about voice qualities become much more feasible but with such clear specifications particular ones could be reconstructed. This would be done through speech synthesis and would facilitate the testing of hypotheses.

The information obtained from the listeners about the speaker was divided into three categories. The biological one - size and physique, sex and age, and medical state - seemed to yield the most accurate conclusions. The conclusions reached on the other two, psychological and social, offered a wide range for discussion in relation to stereotypes in judgements. Imitation seemed to play an important role in the latter, and as to the former, the author commented on our readiness

"as listeners, to draw quite far-reaching conclusions from voice quality about long-term psychological characteristics of a speaker, in assessments of personality"

(ibid., 198).

It was in this section that his proposed standard system of labelling the voice qualities might help in refining the information given as to the voice qualities under study. Thus it would contribute to the exploration of some of the details that Kramer (1963) stated still remained unexplored in the relationship between voice and personality. Laver's classification would also be a step into experimental research, rather than relying on impressions, and it would answer the demand made by Sapir (1927) about forty years earlier when he lamented about voice quality that

"Unfortunately we have no adequate vocabulary for its endless varieties..."

(ibid., 74)

The system would make true Sapir's proposal that once more knowledge was acquired about the physiology and psychology of the voice it would be possible to 'line up' our intuitive judgements as to voice quality with scientific analysis of voice information. Finally, it would come full circle into what Sapir claimed would become:

"The task of an intellectual analysis to justify for us on reasoned grounds what we have knowledge of in prescientific fashion" (ibid., 75).

This brief perusal on interpersonal perception based on speech but centered on the voice and the quest to answer the demand to support our intuitions with reliable scientific statements has presented us with wide agreement on the presence of voice stereotypes and also with ample scope for discussion of the elements that intervene in their existence. Several components present either in the speaker (sex, personality characteristics ...) or the message (content ...) and the rater (personal characteristics ...) have been investigated. In the same way research has been carried out on ways of rating - either analytic or global- on the refining of the definitions - more scientific than intuitive - as well as on the accuracy of results. This appears to be the ultimate aim in the experiments, although the complexity of the task seems to be almost permanently open to further investigation.

Early research was centered on the use of voice ratings in the study of personality stereotypes of individual speakers. Investigations which extended the inquiry from a single member to a group were undertaken somewhat later.

5.3 The 'matched-guise' technique.

Gardner and Lambert, commenting on their studies initiated in 1958-1959 in Quebec, summed up the reasoning behind the design of the 'matched-guise' technique which they had devised to elicit language stereotypes, in these words:

"... if we were to ask listeners to give spontaneously their evaluations of the person whose voice is being heard we would likely capture their stereotypes of the language group represented, that is to say, their attitudinal reactions associated with those people who characteristically use that language" (1972 : 98).

Edwards (1985 : 147) described the technique more summarily as the expression of social stereotypes by means of "samples of speech which are thought to act as identifiers".

The 'matched-guise' technique consists of the following: subjects are required to listen to short passages which have been tape-recorded and to rate the speakers, unaware that they are rating the same person twice or more times, under different 'guises'. These 'guises' vary according to the aim of the research, languages, dialects, accents ... The ratings are also multifarious, ranging from physical appearance, to jobs or professions, personal qualities ...

However, the best description of the technique will undoubtedly be offered in the words of its 'inventors' and more committed users. In summing up their method they wrote:

"Samples of French speaking and English speaking Montreal students were asked to evaluate the personality characteristics of 10 speakers, some speaking in French, others in English. They were not made aware that actually bilinguals were used as speakers so that the evaluational reactions of the two language guises could be matched for each speaker".
(Lambert et al., 1960 : 50)

Since the technique was devised it has received some criticisms. Some of these are related to considering the task as artificial, repetitive and uninteresting (Lee, 1971). Others question the congruity between the topic, speaker and the particular language variety (Agheiyisi and Fishman, 1970), etc.

However, considering by and large the data obtained by its use, the comment made by Chapman et al., seems not only concise, but quite adequate:

"A deception technique which has proven to be of much heuristic value". (1977 : 141)

As to its widespread use, Agheiyisi and Fishman in 1970, in their discussion of data-gathering techniques, commented that since 1960 there had been at least seven studies (ibid., 157) in which the technique had been used² to measure group evaluation reactions to particular languages or language varieties and their speakers. Since then several more studies have been carried out in different contexts (Cheyne, 1970; Giles, 1970, 1971, 1972; Giles et al., 1974; Bourhis et al., 1975; Giles and Powesland, 1975; Milroy and McClenaghan, 1977; Bennett, 1982, etc.)

A more detailed comment on the first studies which were carried out in Canada will clarify what answers were sought and rendered by such an instrument.

In 1958-1959 Lambert and his associates started their investigations into how French-Canadians and English-

2. In their schematic table, nine are mentioned: Lambert et al., 1960; Anisfeld et al., 1962; Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964; Lambert et al., 1965; Lambert et al., 1966; Webster and Kramer, 1968; Silverman, 1969; Tucker, 1969; Tucker and Lambert, 1969 (ibid., 143).

Canadians perceived the other section of the community. In order to do so language was used as an 'identifier' of the group. Two groups of university students - French-Canadians and English-Canadians - were asked to evaluate four male bilingual speakers reading the same passage of prose - 2.5 minutes - once in French and once in English. They had to rate them on personality traits on a bipolar 6 point scale of 14 adjectives.

There was a consensus from both groups in rating the English guises superior on seven traits and the French guise only on one, sense of humour. However the French group rated the English guise superior on ten qualities, a result interpreted as a sign of assumed inferiority versus the English speakers.

A later study by Preston (1963) using Continental French³ offered different results not only with the English raters who evaluated the French speakers more favourably⁴ but also with the French-Canadian raters as well. Another interesting aspect was the different treatment granted to the male and female speakers by male and female listeners.

Having established the difference in their reactions to English Canadian and French Canadian speakers, Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) investigated the effect of the linguistic background. In their experiment 10 year old monolingual and bilingual speakers rated children of their own age on 15

3. Lambert et al. (1960) had one speaker of Continental French with results diverging from the ones assigned to Canadian French.

4. See d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973).

different traits. While French monolingual children gave better ratings to the French guises, the bilinguals reflected fewer differences. Therefore age was an element to be considered when speaking of a self-denigratory image among French Canadians.

In a follow-up study Lambert, Frankel and Tucker (1966) found that around the age of twelve girls began to report negative evaluations of their own group. Another interesting finding was the effect of the social class background which influenced the results with a bias from upper middle class girls favouring the English guises.

Another line of investigation was concerned with the content of the message. Following a study establishing a French Canadian stereotypy (Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor, 1968), Gardner and Taylor (1968, 1969) offered different versions of content in agreement with the established stereotypy, neutral or contrary to the topical image. Also the raters were 'manipulated' as to the 'accuracy' of their results compared to the rest of the listeners.

In general terms the content of the message and to a lesser extent the 'manipulated' judgements of the rest of the group influenced to a certain degree the evaluations, but not so intensely to discard stereotypy completely, which seems to be an element quite firmly entrenched.

As a contrast one final, much later, study carried out by Mazurkewich et al. (1984) offered an 'updated' image of the French and English Canadian speakers. The positive self-image of the English speakers remained constant but the

French group did not show any inferiority on the traits of competence as in Lambert's study.

These findings could be taken as the confirmation of the comment made by Lawson and Giles (1973) and Giles and Powesland (1975) on the need for studies of stereotypical behaviour to be replicated continually because of changes in sociopolitical situations. From the study of Mazurkewich et al. the comment made by Giles and Powesland (1975 : 78) about Welshmen, Basques, Catalans and Bretons, among others, redefining their identities - from about 1972 - would mean also that the French Canadians would enjoy and project a more favourable self-image⁵ and a higher self-esteem of the group as a result of modifications in legal status⁶. These changes would be projected in the answers obtained when using an instrument for measuring social stereotypes such as the 'matched-guise' technique.

5.4 Selected studies using the matched-guise technique.

As has been indicated, the first occasion when the matched-guise technique was reported in experimental work is in Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960) on research carried out in Canada. But it is not only in this context that a number of studies have been undertaken since then. Giles and Powesland (1975) in their study on Speech Style and Social Evaluation, used a twofold division in

5. See: *Dossiers du Conseil de la Langue Française* 9 & 10 (1981) and 13 & 14 (1983) for an exhaustive analysis of the 'Conscience Linguistique des Jeunes Québécois' prepared by Bédard, E. & Monnier, D. (vol. I); Georgeault, P. (vol. II); Locher, U., Lange, M. & Georgeault, P. (vols. III & IV).

6. Cf. Bourhis (1987): 'Linguistic Work Environments and Language Use in Bilingual Settings'.

their review on the work done on Speech Style and Perceived Personality: those studies related to the Canadian context and those carried out in other cultures (Britain, USA). A posteriori, the organisation seems to be justified because of the incidence of context in the results obtained when compared with the original study. A priori, another apparently idiosyncratic arrangement could be employed and this is the presentation chosen in the present case: chronological order. The contexts of the studies vary and so do the stimuli under examination (languages of worldwide use, languages restricted to smaller areas of diffusion, dialects or different speech accents) or the aims of the research (personality judgement, social status, etc.). But such chronological organisation will facilitate the purpose of this section, which attempts only

- a) to point out the widespread use of the technique⁷ over the years from its original context and not the results in each instance, a task which has already been extensively done on several occasions (Giles and Powesland, 1975; Ryan and Giles, 1982);
- b) to mention studies with different progressive variations introduced into the original design of the technique, which have been seen in the review of the literature consulted.

Table I is drawn from studies carried out by means of the matched-guise technique which is used to illustrate its

7. The table includes only those studies which have been used as a basis for the preparation of the present work; the inclusion of other references mentioned elsewhere and also reported from other sources consulted will appear in the section on References. Their mention only confirms the extended use of the technique.

development during this period of time. In this first list I(a), the changes from the original work have involved context, stimuli, raters, rating instrument and demands on the commitment of the task, but the basic design has been maintained.

Table I : some studies using the matched-guise technique

(a) <u>YEAR</u>	<u>RESEARCHERS</u>	<u>LANGUAGE VARIETIES</u>	<u>CONTEXT</u>
1960	Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum	English/French (Canadian & Continental)	Montreal
1962	Anisfeld, Bogo & Lambert	English (\pm Jewish accent)	Montreal
1963	Preston	English/French (Canadian & Continental)	Montreal
1964	Anisfeld & Lambert	English/French (Canadian & Continental)	Montreal
1965	Lambert, Anisfeld & Yeni-Komshian	Arabic/Hebrew (Ashkenazic & Yemenite)	Tel Aviv/ Jaffa
1966	Lambert, Frankel & Tucker	English/French (Canadian & Continental)	Montreal
1967	Strongman & Woolsey	English (London & Yorkshire accents)	N. England/ S. England
1970	Cheyne	English (English & Scottish accents)	Glasgow/ London
1970	Giles	English (13 accents: foreign & regional)	S.W. England/ S. Wales
1971a	Giles	English (3 accents: RP/South Welsh & Somerset)	S.W. England/ S. Wales
1971b	Giles	English (6 accents: regional)	S.W. England/ S. Wales
1972a	Giles	English (3 accents)	S.W. England/ S.Wales
1972b	Giles	English (3 accents)	S.W. England/ S.Wales
1973	Giles	English (4 accents)	S.W. England/ S.Wales
1974	Giles, Bourhis, Trudgill & Lewis	Greek (2 dialects: Athenian & Cretan)	G.B.
1976	Giles and Bourhis	Various	Various
1977	Milroy & McClenaghan	English (4 accents)	Belfast
1977	Edwards	Irish (5 accents)	Ireland
1983	Bentahila	Arabic/French	Morocco
1984	Mazurkewich, Fister- Stogo, Mawle, Somers & Thibaudeau	English/French (Canadian)	Montreal

Early research in Canada contrasted two worldwide languages - English/French - with the aim of eliciting stereotypes along the line of personality traits, complemented by other variable measures such as prejudice, preference ... (Lambert et al., 1960). Later, one aspect present in the first experiment - a variety of *accent of either* - French Canadian and Continental French - was enhanced in the second experiment and *accent - Jewish* - was examined as a variable liable to influence stereotypy (Anisfeld et al., 1962). The variable of sex in the speakers and raters was also investigated as a possible factor influencing the ratings (Preston, 1963). The next step was to consider the age of the speakers and the raters and also their knowledge of the language - monolinguals and bilinguals - (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964). Having used so far the same context for their work, the next variation would be to experiment in a new setting to compare, contrast and ascertain the previous findings.

Five years after the publication of the first paper in this field Lambert and colleagues examined two languages - Arabic and Hebrew - in a new context, that of Israel, and two variations in one of them - Hebrew: Ashkenazic and Yemenite. This design paralleled the original study (Lambert et al., 1965).

Back in the original Canadian context, the interest was now shifted to determine the starting point in any feeling of inferiority towards one's own group (Lambert et al. 1966). The next two studies on the list changed both context (England, Scotland) and *researchers* (Strongman & Woosley,

1967; Cheyne, 1970). Next, a new aspect was introduced with the next study mentioned in the list: the **aesthetic, communicative** and **status** contents (Giles, 1970), as a complement to the appraisal of personality traits (Giles, 1971a). In Giles (1971b, 1972b) the dimension of **ethnocentrism** was observed as a possible variable affecting the results on the appraisal of aesthetic, communicative and status contents and evaluation of personality traits respectively. Again altering one aspect of the stimulus by using a different **mildness** or **broadness** of accent, a new line of investigation was examined (Giles, 1972a) and the role of accent as a possible factor of persuasion was next set up as the object of analysis (Giles, 1973).

The question of whether the results obtained would be confirmed in contexts not influenced by an **imposed** norm was investigated (Giles et al., 1974), and in demand of new dimensions in the research, behavioural levels in more **naturalistic settings** were requested as a step ahead in the development of the possible potential of the technique (Giles and Bourhis, 1976).

The next two studies show a change in the context - Ulster, Ireland - and researchers once more (Milroy and McClenaghan, 1977; Edwards, 1977) and so does the following one, although this introduces a new dimension into the guises, code switching, with different percentages of either guise in the passages under analysis (Bentahila, 1983).

The last work mentioned on the list aims at being a repetition twenty-five years later of the first work of

Lambert et al., with slight adjustments by omitting an accent on the stimuli and offering not only positive but negative traits to be rated (Mazurkewich et al., 1984).

(b)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>RESEARCHERS</u>	<u>LANGUAGE VARIETIES</u>	<u>CONTEXT</u>
⁸ 1968	Gardner & Taylor	English	W. Ontario
⁹ 1973	Giles, Taylor & Bourhis	English/French	Montreal
¹⁰ 1976	Giles, Bourhis & Davies	French/varieties	Wales
¹¹ 1975	Giles, Baker & Fielding	English	G.B.
¹² 1975	Powesland & Giles	RP/Bristol accent	Wales
¹³ 1975	El-Dash & Tucker	Arabic	Egypt
¹⁴ 1975	Carranza & Ryan	English/Spanish	Mexico
¹⁵ 1976	Bourhis & Giles	English/Welsh	Wales
¹⁶ 1982	Bennett	Spanish	Granada
¹⁷ 1984	Genesee	English/French	Montreal

In this second list, (b), very brief footnotes have been included to sum up the variations introduced on the technique which may be labelled as 'language guises' rather than 'matched-guises' since there are differences in speakers, texts, etc.

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8. Three different messages (stereotype, neutral, anti-stereotype) recorded by the same speakers.
 9. Description of a drawing. A male FC bilingual recorded four versions of the same passage: French, Mixed French and English, Fluent English with an FC accent, non fluent English.
 10. Unknown language varieties to the speakers.
 11. Same male speaker, 2 accents in two stimulus passages arguing for and against the same topic. 4 groups of listeners in each of the 4 possible text combinations.
 12. Matched-guise technique in a face-to-face situation.
 13. Not reading the same text, but talking about the same topic.
 14. 16 different passages (4 readings of 4 passages by four different speakers) and 2 sets of semantic differential scales.
 15. Real life context: requesting co-operation from a theatre audience.
 16. 5 different speakers used.
 17. A 'segmented dialogue technique'.

Finally, the work reported in the next three chapters corresponds to the use of the 'matched-guise' technique in its 'original' design, but now in a new context not explored before, Euskadi, that is, the Basque Country.

5.5 Summary

Having examined a technique used in an attempt to elicit information on language stereotypes, a comment made by Lambert (1967) could be used as a summary of the above discussion. He thinks that his technique is particularly valuable as a measure of group biases in evaluative reactions¹⁸. Moreover, in trying to do research on this area he insists on the value of a method which reveals more about the feelings of the subjects towards other groups¹⁹ than can be obtained by direct attitude questionnaires.

This is a point to be emphasized. All criticisms considered, the technique does not raise some of the antagonistic reactions caused by other means when doing research on the area of people's evaluative reactions to speech styles, accents, dialects and languages. This fact may well redress the balance of any diminishing criticisms against the 'matched-guise' technique. When exploring such a sensitive area of intergroup perceptions liable to raise strong emotions such a technique must be kept in mind.

18. Even if the judgements of the listeners are not objectively accurate, nevertheless they are valuable as measures of the groups 'biases'.

19. See Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) for equating a population with a single language variety, and Fishman and Solano (1987) for the 'Societal factors predictive of Linguistic Homogeneity or Heterogeneity.'

CHAPTER 6

Pilot Study

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this pilot study was to explore whether there was a pattern of attitude towards Basque among school teenagers in the province of Bizkaia.

It was carried out by means of questionnaires* completed by 119 pupils of Primary and Secondary State schools in the autumn term of the school year 1979-1980.

The information obtained from the answers to the questionnaires *was* analysed and discussed with respect to content and format. These results *were* then used to make any necessary alterations for the main survey.

6.2 Sampling Procedure

In the light of previous studies on attitudes towards languages (Lambert et al., 1960; Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964; etc.), dialects (Cole, 1975) and accents (Giles, 1970) it was decided that three variables were to be considered in the selection of cases: linguistic background of the area, age and sex.

* Appendix 1

6.2.1 Linguistic background

The linguistic background of the province was examined according to the figures of Basque speakers given in a sociolinguistic study sponsored by the Royal Academy of the Basque Language - Euskaltzaindia (1977). In this report, the Basque Country was divided into three different linguistic areas (Figure 1)



Figure 1. Linguistic areas

Figure 1. Adapted from Conflicto Lingüístico en Euskadi EUSKALTZAINDIA

- A. 'Bascophone' area, where the Basque language has been preserved.
- B. 'Non-Basque speaking' area where it has been lost.
- C. 'Contact' area, for that geographical space between the former and the latter areas.

Two villages were selected because of their belonging to two different areas according to this threefold classification¹. (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Situation of the villages in this study.

The first village, Markina² was considered as belonging to the first linguistic area. The number of Basque speakers given being as high as 80 to 100% of its inhabitants. Barakaldo³, the second village, was classified as belonging to the contact area. Although no figure for Basque speakers was given in the survey it was described as:

"Having belonged to a Basque speaking area until the end of the c18th and Basque having been spoken in the village itself until the end of the c19th."
(ibid., 50)

1. EUSKALTZAINDIA : *Conflicto lingüístico en Euskadi*, p. 15.

2. Markina-Xemein: 50.3 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 4,927 (Census, 1975); 5,087 (Rect. to Census, Dec. 31, 1979). Immigrants: around 2% (PAL Encyclopedia, 1973).

3. Barakaldo: 9 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 117,747 (Census, 1975); 123,760 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1979). Immigrants: more than 70% (PAL Encyclopedia, 1973).

This remark seemed therefore to suggest that a very small number of Basque speakers might still be found at the present moment. Supporting evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that the village was included in a list of places where Basque was spoken in the first third of the c19th. This list had been compiled by Pedro Antonio de Añibarro, OFM⁴. However, in the introduction to the collection of papers in which the above article is to be found, Estornés Lasa (1966 : 15), the editor, in his discussion of linguistic areas in the Basque Country, writes:

"In Bizkaia the line (= of recession) until not so long ago was down at ... Barakaldo It is already some years since the Basque language has been lost in Barakaldo ..."

In addition, the village is the last one on the western border of his flow chart showing the "extreme line of the Basque language in 1935 in villages with varying numbers of speakers" (ibid., 72).

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis that Barakaldo provides a sufficiently sharp contrast to Markina in terms of linguistic background comes from a report on Euskera by SIADECO (1978). This uses an additional classification to that mentioned above. It provides a subsection dealing with the urban areas (the capitals of the provinces, those of Nafarroa-behera and Zuberoa excepted). Although this does not give the number of Basque speakers for Barakaldo it does give them for Bilbao. If Barakaldo is taken as part of the 'Great Bilbao' area (PAL'S

4. Villasante, L. : "Una lista de pueblos Vascongados de Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa y Navarra de principios del siglo XIX", *Geografía Histórica de la Lengua Vasca*, Estornés Lasa, B. (ed.).

Encyclopaedia describes the village as being:

"today Barakaldo is joined to Bilbao ... without any breach of continuity..." 5)

then the figures⁶ ascribed to the capital, Bilbao, might provide some information on figures for Basque speakers in the village. The figure quoted for the contact area in Bizkaia is 2.1% of the total 335,506 inhabitants in this area, while for the urban area it is 5.8% of a total of 431,071 inhabitants. Even taking into account a possible increase in the number of Basque speakers to allow for the 'dynamic' process of the linguistic areas discussed by Ugalde in his introduction to this concept⁷, it was still felt that Barakaldo could provide an adequate contrast to Markina for the purpose of this study, since its number of possible speakers would be around only 5% of the total population.

Table 1

Villages	Inhabitants	Immigrants	Basque speakers
BARAKALDO	123,760	70%	5%
MARKINA	5,087	2%	80%

Table 1 summarizes the figures discussed so far as an orientation to establish the contrast in linguistic background in the area between the two villages selected for the Pilot study. If linguistic background is, as is claimed, a

5. Encyclopaedia PAL, 1973.

6. Cf. SIADeco : Bases para un futuro plan de actuación en favor de la normalización del uso del Euskera, p. 30.

7. Euskaltzaindia, op. cit., p. 16.

significant source of variation of attitude towards language (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964; etc.) and even "the most highly significant one"⁸ the choice of such divergent villages was justifiably necessary.

6.2.2 Age Group

Having examined previous studies carried out with teenagers in other linguistic communities (Sharp et al., 1973; Cole, 1975; Giles, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973; Lambert, et al., 1966; etc.), it was thought that the answers of 12 and 17 years olds might be desirable for two reasons:

- If a change of attitude towards languages seems to take place in the 14 year group, these two particular age groups could be considered as interesting contrasting points in a possible attitudinal shift.
- Since other studies have been done with the same age groups, the results of the present exploration might be analysed and compared with previous findings for similar age populations in other speech communities.

6.2.3 Sex

Care was taken in the composition of the groups to ensure a balanced number of members of both sexes. Studies in other linguistic communities (Lambert, 1967; McKinnon, 1977; etc.) showed different attitudinal patterns depending on the sex of the subjects, and that the evaluations of personality are affected as much by the sex of the speakers

8. Sharp et al. : *Attitudes to Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales*, p. 155.

as by that of the listeners in what could be considered a complex interaction.

Furthermore, since the nature of the questionnaires seemed to impinge on an area of personality evaluation - competence - where the interactional reactions of the listeners to the sex of the speakers on tape seemed to be specially sensitive to bias (Miller and McReynolds, 1973), the study of the reactions of a balanced sampling of boys and girls within age groups seemed very necessary indeed.

6.3 Design and Administration of Questionnaires

It was decided to use a threefold questionnaire (Appendix 1). The first part was meant to gather information about those factors in the situation that might be expected to affect attitudes towards Basque. The second part was designed to obtain answers about scales of values relevant to the different groups under study. Finally, the third part of the questionnaire was to be used, together with a tape made of recordings of bilingual speakers of Basque and Castilian, so as to apply Lambert's 'matched-guise' technique⁹ to elicit possible stereotyped attitudinal reactions.

6.3.1. Background information

It was felt that the completion of the questionnaire should be as mechanical and quick as possible, and therefore the variables were rated on a YES/NO basis wherever possible

9. Lambert et al. : "Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages". *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 1960, vol. 60, n. 1, pp. 44-51.

so that the subjects would only have to place a tick in the appropriate box.

This first part of the questionnaire was designed to provide information on three clearly differentiated sections:

- Identification of subjects by, sex, birthplace, age and length of residence in Bizkaia or any other province within the Basque country. A question was also included about willingness to change place of residence and, if the answer was affirmative, what the new choice would be.

- Study of Modern Languages. The information in this section was related to the subjects' past or present experience in learning modern languages and their reactions to it. Questions were asked about what modern languages they had ever studied and whether they enjoyed studying them or not. It was assumed that most school pupils would have had some modern languages in their school curriculum. However, there was a section for anyone who had not studied modern languages and those subjects were asked whether they would like to take them up if given the opportunity and to give some explanation for whatever their answer might be.

The final question was a ranking scale of preference for the three languages they would like most to speak. Although the questions in this section required lengthier answers than in

the previous one, the format was designed as economically as possible using ticking boxes and "Why?" sections with a limited space so as to obtain brief answers.

- Association with Euskera. Subjects were asked again in a 'YES/NO' ticking box format to rate their degree of familiarity with Basque. Besides answering whether they had ever heard Basque spoken, and if they considered it to be difficult, they had to assess their own proficiency in the language. The answers covered the four skills, understanding, speaking, reading and writing in Basque and this subjective assessment was extended to their families and friends.

Finally, they were asked whether they would like to learn Basque if they did not already speak it and to provide some explanation for their answers.

6.3.2 Quality appraisal

In this second part of the questionnaire the subjects were asked to complete five sections related to qualities they liked and disliked in other people, and qualities they considered necessary to be successful.

The sections on likes and dislikes were duplicated: the first two elicited answers about the subjects' own preferences and aversions, and the second two asked for information on what qualities they thought others liked and disliked in people.

It was thought that this second section would make the answers more free since the subjects were disassociating themselves from 'their' choice. This was designed especially with the younger group in mind. Although the subjects had been informed that their answers would be examined by the researcher alone, it was nevertheless felt that they might experience some pressure (Ebel, 1979 : 365) to comply with an 'accepted' norm when their own individual appraisals were required.

The purpose of this exercise was to gather traits characterising people liked, disliked, etc. and to obtain adjectives for the main survey that seemed salient to the population under study.

In addition, it was felt that the appraisal might throw some light on a possible interpretation of scores in scales submitted to the subjects for rating, which was closer to the population's judgement than to the researcher's subjective evaluation.

6.3.3 Stereotype projection

This third part of the questionnaire consisted of six separate sheets, with three sections on each, to be used with a tape. This was made up of six passages read by four different speakers, and the subjects were asked to listen to each passage and rate the reader.

The content of the reading passage was the same in all cases¹⁰ but read in four different languages. The first two,

10. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Articles 1-5.

Japanese and Tamil, were used as distractors and also to give the subjects some practice in the task. The next four passages were in Basque and Castilian, read twice by the same speakers, the first time in Basque, the second time in Castilian*.

The content of the passage departed from the original concept of "prose of a philosophical nature" used by Lambert et al. (1960). Further experiments¹¹ seemed to indicate that non-content cues may provide more information on attitudinal reactions to the speech of different speakers. However, the results of an experiment by Gardner and Taylor (1968) seemed to indicate that, although message content might influence the subjects' rating "the stereotype still appeared to be operative", even with such extreme variation as three different types of message, pro-stereotype, neutral and anti-stereotype in content. Therefore, it was assumed that the 'how' would prevail over the 'what' of the passage. This assumption seems further justified by Giles and Bourhis (1973) in some research in this area where they say:

"studies ... show that the same argument presented on tape to listeners in British standard and non-standard accents influence the perceived quality of its content". (12)

In departing from the use of prose of a philosophical nature, therefore, it was expected that the reactions would be still primarily attributable to the language and that content of the passage would not have enough effect to

* Appendix 2.

11. Giles, H. and Powesland, J. : **Speech Style and Social Evaluation**. Introduction.

12. Giles, H. and Bourhis, R.Y. : "The Forum". **Quarterly Journal of Speech**. 1973.

grossly distort the perception of the speakers.

The tape was played with all the three sections of this third part of the questionnaire. The first section was designed to gather more possible variables to be included in the evaluative scales of the main survey.

After listening to each of the speakers, the subjects were asked to write down the four qualities they associated with the person they had just heard on the tape. In this way information could be obtained about qualities associated with speakers of a particular language without resorting to some of the other traditional methods used in eliciting judgements about stereotypes.

Giles and Powesland (1975) report some of these traditional methods: the use of photographs of ethnic group members, pictures accompanied by ethnic surnames, stimulus speakers present, etc.. Giles and Bourhis mention a further method in a discussion of how the rating scales for evaluating stimulus speakers are chosen, subjects in a pilot study being asked:

"to generate adjectives that they think are important to them in describing the name labels of various social groups".

(1973 : 340)

The use of such methods, however, has some disadvantage as it has repeatedly been found that subjects are usually very unwilling to attach evaluative labels to ethnic groups or to encourage the formation of nationality stereotypes (Sharp, 1973 : 37). In fact, some studies in this area have had to be abandoned because the subjects refuse to maintain or even accept the existence of these nationality stereotypes. It

was considered that the closer the subjects felt to the groups to be labelled the more reticent they would be about carrying out the task.

Therefore, in the first section on stereotype projection, this version of the matched-guise technique - without using a semantic differential rating scale - was thought to be the best instrument to elicit possible views of a speaker that might not have been taken into account when constructing the scales for the current pilot study.

The second section was intended as an exploration into the degree and variability of acceptance of the speakers according to their different guises. A seven point scale was used, translated from an experiment reported by Allport (1966 : 265) about intercultural education and the 'social travel' technique used to evaluate the possible changes of attitude in a group after travelling and living together for some time. Although the scale had been designed to measure the change of attitude of teenagers towards subjects already known to them, before and after a trip they made together, and therefore, the effect of contact, it was felt that the scale might contribute some information on the 'social distance' (Bogardus, 1958) felt by the subjects towards the different speakers. The scale consisted of seven different sentences ranking in a decreasing order of social 'nearness' from statements such as "I'd like to have this person as my best friend" to "I'd like to keep as far away as possible

from this person"¹³.

The third section consisted of a Semantic Differential Scale, where 29 traits had to be rated on a ten point score basis.

The qualities to be rated had been chosen from similiar lists used in previous studies on personality evaluation (McCloy, 1936; Vernon, 1963; Eysenck, 1970) and in experiments in other linguistic communities (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964; Milroy and McClenaghan, 1977; McKinnon, 1977; etc.). Then the list was checked against some adjectives currently found when discussing the Basques (Barandiarán, 1939, 1946, 1963; Caro Baroja, 1978; etc.) or in works and articles related to how the Basque people have been perceived either by themselves or by outsiders to their community (Estornés Lasa, 1967; Ugalde, 1974; Basáñez, 1975; etc.).

In this way it was felt that both a common core of adjectives used in previous studies in other communities and a specific set related to a possible Basque stereotype would be presented to the subjects for rating.

6.3.4 Administration

It had originally been intended to ask 30 pupils from both a Primary and a Secondary State school in two villages to complete the questionnaires. However, at the time the pilot study was carried out (end of October, 1979) students

13. The complete scale : 1. closest to me - would have as my best friend.
 2. very close to me - would like to take home for a visit.
 3. close to me - would enjoy talking with.
 4. neither close to me nor far from me - would accept on a work team.
 5. some distance from me - would keep only as a speaking acquaintance.
 6. farther from me - would rather not sit with in class.
 7. farthest away from me - would rather have miles away.

from the two chosen 'Institutos' had not yet begun the school year, due to unpredictable circumstances. Therefore, students for the 17 year old group from the technical schools in both villages had to be used instead. This altered the desired composition of the groups, since one of the groups was made up of 37 male students instead of a balanced number from both sexes, and in the other village, only 24 students could be used.

Questionnaires were administered during regular class periods to 125 subjects, but six subjects failed to complete most of the items on the questionnaire. Therefore, the results are based on data obtained from the 119 subjects who completed either all sections or enough information not to be discarded.

The subjects were told that the exercise was part of an experiment investigating descriptions of people by just listening to them. It was described as an activity they might have themselves experienced when speaking to a stranger on the phone or making judgements on a person speaking outside the room. They were also told that, in order to bring variety into the task, different languages had been used, although it was stressed that the content of the passage was exactly the same in all cases.

One and a half hours had been assigned for the exercise, so as to allow time for introducing it and questions and discussion at the end and in no case was it necessary to expand the time allocated. With the younger groups there was a small break between the fourth and fifth speaker, but they

were not allowed to discuss the task with their neighbours.

The procedure was altered at the subjects' request. At first it had been started by playing the passage before each one of the three sections in each sheet, and asking the subjects to do the corresponding marking after having listened to the speaker to be evaluated. However, after the first two sheets had been completed, the subjects insisted that they only needed the passage to be played once in order to get the 'image' of the speaker, and then to have a second repetition to 'confirm' their impression while they were actually doing the rating.

The subjects were informed that the answers would only be seen by the researcher who was a complete stranger to the schools.

From the answers obtained in the final section where comments on the exercise were asked, the general impression was of a favourable attitude towards the task.

6.4 Results and Discussion

6.4.1 Background information

6.4.1.1 Sex and age

Table 2 shows the composition of the group, with an indication of their average age.

Table 2 : Age and Sex

	Younger Group			Older Group			Total
	Number	Age		Number	Age		
BARAKALDO (=D Village)	F	19	(12yrs 4mths)	F	17	(17yrs 5mths)	
	M	11	(12yrs)	M	7	(17yrs 4mths)	
	30			24			= 54
MARKINA (=M Village)	F	11	(12yrs 3mths)	F	0		
	M	17	(12yrs 4mths)	M	37	(17yrs 5mths)	
	28			37			= 65
TOTAL	58			61			=119

As was stated earlier, the group is unbalanced in that the girls represent only 39% of the total sample. As for age, the groups seemed to be very similar in their average figure.

6.4.1.2 Length of residence in the province

The answers to the first part of the questionnaire indicated that almost all of the subjects in each group had been born in the province. Out of the total 119 subjects, 111 had been born not just within the Basque country but in

Bizkaia, and only 9 cases mentioned having lived away from the province for a long period of time. Therefore, such small figures could not provide the basis for establishing two possible categories of people: those who had not spent their whole lives in the province as opposed to those who had been born and brought up in it. Table 3 shows the proportion of subjects in each subgroup who were born in Bizkaia.

Table 3 : Birthplace

	Bizkaia	Other
*D12 Fem	88.5%	11.5%
D12 Mal	100%	0%
D17 Fem	82.5%	17.5%
D17 Mal	100%	0%
M12 Fem	100%	0%
M12 Mal	100%	0%
M17 Mal	94.5%	5.5%

Only 34% of people answered the question on whether they would like to change their place of residence. With the younger group the percentage of answers completed - 65% - was higher than with the older one, but in most cases, the information about the new choice was very general: "somewhere warm", "some country abroad" ... On the whole the results indicated that the question had not been properly phrased, if the reason for including such an item was to

* D12 Fem = Barakaldo, 12 year olds, Females
M17 Mal = Markina, 17 year olds, Males.

find out if they were on the whole satisfied or not with their place of residence. Alternatively, the subjects may have been too young or not sufficiently knowledgeable to have ever thought of leaving home.

Therefore, this first part of the questionnaire provided reliable information on the composition of the group and on the length of stay in the country, but inconclusive answers as to possible satisfaction or dislike with their place of residence. The study confirmed no significant association between the variables of having lived away from the province and the wish to change residence. However, the number of subjects involved in this area of the study was so small that this result must be viewed with caution and the finding as inconclusive.

6.4.1.3 Study of languages

The second section on study of languages indicated that all subjects had studied or were in the process of studying at least one language besides Castilian. Table 4 presents the results with the groups divided by age, sex and village. The range of languages studied was mainly restricted to either English or French, plus Euskera.

Table 4 : Languages Studied

	English	Euskera	French	German
D12 Fem	2	15	18	1
D12 Mal	0	10	10	0
D17 Fem	17	8	5	0
D17 Mal	6	0	2	0
M12 Fem	11	2	0	0
M12 Mal	15	2	2	0
M17 Mal	15	3	25	0
	66	40	62	1

With regard to their like or dislike of learning languages, the results in Table 5 seem to indicate that most subjects had a positive impression of the experience and that feeling was unanimous in the case of the younger group of girls in both villages.

They were also asked to state very briefly the reason for their appreciation or lack of interest in studying languages. This had been aimed mainly at the people who might not have had any experience of foreign language learning in the past. However, this proved to be the case for nobody, although some subjects interpreted it as 'interest in pursuing their study of languages' and answered accordingly.

Table 5 : Liking of Languages

	YES	NO
D12 Fem	100%	0%
D12 Mal	70%	30%
D17 Fem	73.5%	26.5%
D17 Mal	100%	0%
M12 Fem	100%	0%
M12 Mal	82.5%	1.75%
M17 Mal	81.5%	18.5%

Below is a summary of the most common reasons given for or against studying languages:

Non favourable : 5 statements. Reasons for not liking to continue the study of languages

a) boredom : 3

b) laziness : 2

Yes : favourable : 33 statements. Reasons for wanting to continue:

a) useful (for travelling abroad ...) : 14

b) communication : 12

c) pleasure : 5

d) culture : 2

The statements (Appendix 3) were thus roughly distributed in four different categories according to what reason was stressed as the basic one for pursuing their study. One set stressed the idea of practicality, "useful when travelling abroad to speak to foreigners"; another set put the emphasis on improving relationships and stressed the idea of communication, understanding, rather than merely encoding and decoding messages in a different language. There were two further sets with a number of statements in each. The third one mentioned the idea of enjoyment of the learning task seen as a challenge for new ways. The final and by far the least numerous set considered the study of languages as 'culture' and therefore, something worth acquiring.

Although there were some groups which did not give any answers at all, from the statements obtained, a different clustering of opinions according to age may be observed. The answers of the younger group are more frequent in the area of usefulness, while the greater percentage obtained from

older subjects are in the category of 'communicating' with other people (Table 6).

Table 6 : Reasons for Studying Languages

	Useful	Communication	Pleasure	Culture
Younger	47%	11%	29%	11%
Older	37%	62%	0%	0%

The number of statements is far too small to allow for any conclusion on a possible shift in the purpose of language study due to a difference in age. However, if nothing else, there seems to be a higher degree of consensus in the answers of the older cases.

Having examined what languages the subjects had studied, whether they had a favourable or adverse opinion of the task and what purpose they ascribe to the learning of languages, the last question in this section dealt with the ranking in order of preference of the languages the subjects would most like to speak.

There was a total of 25 different languages produced in answer to this question¹⁴. However, some of these choices were purely idiosyncratic and therefore, only the first two highest frequency counts for each rank per subgroup are discussed here. Main results are presented in Table 7.

-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| 14. | 1. Arabic | 2. Castilian | 3. Catalan | 4. Chinese | 5. Croatian |
| | 6. Danish | 7. Dutch | 8. English | 9. Euskera | 10. French |
| | 11. Gaelic | 12. Galician | 13. German | 14. Greek | 15. Hindi |
| | 16. Italian | 17. Japanese | 18. Latin | 19. Malagasy | 20. Norwegian |
| | 21. Polish | 22. Portuguese | 23. Russian | 24. Slav | 25. Swedish |

Table 7 : Languages most desired to speak

First Choice:						
	English	Euskera	French	German	Others	No Answer
D12 Fem	11	3			3	2
D12 Mal	3	6			2	0
D17 Fem	7	8			1	3
D17 Mal	7					0
M12 Fem	8				1	2
M12 Mal	14			2	1	0
M17 Mal	16	16			2	3
	66	33		2	10	10
Second Choice:						
D12 Fem	7		6		3	3
D12 Mal	4		3	3	1	4
D17 Fem	8		4			5
D17 Mal		4			1	2
M12 Fem			7		3	1
M12 Mal		4	6		3	4
M17 Mal	11			7	13	6
	30	8	26	10	24	25
Third Choice:						
D12 Fem			3	7	4	5
D12 Mal	3		2		5	1
D17 Fem			7	3	5	2
D17 Mal			5		1	1
M12 Fem					7	4
M12 Mal			4	4	6	3
M17 Mal			12	9	7	9
	3		33	23	35	25

English was most often selected as first and second choice, with French most often as third choice and only second as second choice. Euskera was selected as first choice in the second place on frequency, and then did not reach a high enough figure to be included again, while German was more favoured as third choice.

However, since the instruction for this section read "Write in order of preference the three languages you would like most to speak", perhaps some subjects did speak Euskera and therefore they mentioned other unknown languages rather than the one they already spoke. This might have been expected from the subjects in M Village. However, there are 16 subjects, 43% of the total sample in the older group, who rate Euskera as their first choice. This posed the question of whether the group selected were not proficient in the language, even if the figures for speakers in the village were very high, or if it was a case of language loyalty. Were the latter the reason, those subjects who spoke Euskera, if asked to make a choice, would select Euskera as the most desirable one, thus reaffirming their appreciation of their Basque language.

Either possibility had to be left open until the answers to the next section, which covered questions on the proficiency of the subjects in the Basque language, were examined. Table 8 shows the percentage of the speakers' own assessment of their knowledge of Euskera.

The first difference to be noticed between the percentages is the high figures in both of them. In the case of Markina it is not surprising, because of its linguistic background. In the case of Barakaldo much lower figures were expected. However, the explanation might lie in the general nature of the question which leaves an affirmative answer open to any kind of degree of knowledge. The younger group were attending Euskera lessons, and this caused some of them

to qualify themselves as understanding, speaking, reading and writing ... the material so far covered in their course.

Table 8 : Self-report Assessment of Knowledge of Euskera

	BARAKALDO			MARKINA		
	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
YOU						
Understand	41.3%	51.7%	7.0%	93.8%	6.1%	0%
Speak	25.8%	67.2%	7.0%	92.3%	7.6%	0%
Read	44.8%	48.2%	7.0%	81.5%	18.4%	0%
Write	34.4%	58.6%	7.0%	63.0%	36.9%	0%
FAMILY						
Understand	32.7%	58.6%	8.7%	95.3%	4.6%	0%
Speak	31.0%	60.3%	8.7%	92.3%	7.6%	0%
Read	32.7%	58.6%	8.7%	84.6%	15.3%	0%
Write	27.5%	62.0%	10.5%	69.2%	29.2%	1.6%
FRIENDS						
Understand	58.6%	32.7%	8.7%	96.9%	3.0%	0%
Speak	50.0%	41.3%	8.7%	95.3%	4.6%	0%
Read	55.1%	36.2%	8.7%	95.3%	4.6%	0%
Write	46.5%	41.3%	12.2%	83.0%	16.9%	0%

Although the question on family and friends was very vague in that it only asked whether there was 'anybody' in the family or among the subjects' friends who had some knowledge of Euskera, in both cases, the percentage of subjects reporting having somebody with knowledge of Euskera among friends is higher than the figure for the family network.

When the degree of knowledge is studied according to the different skills in Markina there is a steady decrease

in the figures from understanding to writing in all cases. The results are somewhat different in Barakaldo: understanding still gets the highest percentage and writing the lowest. However, the percentage for reading is closer to that of understanding than the one for speaking. Again, it should be remembered that the course followed by the younger group was an integrated one, in which all skills were considered, but where literacy was heavily stressed.

Perhaps the age group and the school environment explains the discrepancy between the answers obtained from the questionnaires and the figures for Basque speaking families in the Bascophone area quoted by the SIADECO report¹⁵. If the percentages for the various degrees of proficiency (fluently, without almost any difficulty, with a slight difficulty, ...) are added together the resulting figures indicate a much more dramatic decline. These are the figures quoted for the proficiency of Basque-speaking families in the Bascophone area for each of the four skills:

	<u>SIADECO</u>	<u>SELF-REPORT</u>
Understand	94.9%	95.3%
Speak	92.5%	92.3%
Read	74.8%	84.6%
Write	23.9%	69.2%

The figures from Markina, the village in the Bascophone area, for understanding and speaking are in both cases very

15. SIADECO : *Conflicto lingüístico en Euskadi*. p. 75.

similar. However, the ones for the two skills related to literacy are wider apart. Perhaps this could be interpreted as the younger generation breaking away from the pattern of illiteracy in the Basque language predominant among Basque speakers, and possibly also reflects the results of the more heterogeneous age population interviewed in the SIADECO report.

The area of the questionnaire dealing with whether the subjects considered Euskera to be difficult, is presented in Table 9.

Table 9 : Euskera difficult

	YES	NO
D12 Fem	14	3
D12 Mal	8	3
D17 Fem	10	7
D17 Mal	3	4
	35 = 65%	17 = 31%
M12 Fem	0	11
M12 Mal	4	13
M17 Mal	14	23
	18 = 27%	47 = 72%
TOTAL	53 = 44%	64 = 53%

The total figures indicate that 44% of the subjects said they considered Euskera to be difficult while the opinion of 53% of the group was that the language was not difficult. However, when the results are analysed separately for each village, the figures point to different opinions. In D Village almost two thirds of the subjects say Euskera is difficult, while in M Village, almost three quarters say it is not.

A possible explanation for this difference is that those subjects more proficient with the language tend to perceive it as less difficult. However, it would be more important to find out whether subjects were discouraged from learning the language because they considered it to be difficult. Table 10 presents the answers to the question on willingness to learn Euskera. These answers come from only 46% of the total group. As expected from the self-reported assessment of the Basque language discussed previously, most of the affirmative answers come from D Village, since in M Village most of the subjects have some knowledge of the language. As many as 77% of the total sample in Barakaldo say they would like to study Euskera, while only 7% say no.

Table 10 : Like to learn Euskera

	YES	NO
D12 Fem	12	2
D12 Mal	9	1
D17 Fem	14	1
D17 Mal	7	0
	42 = 77%	4 = 7%
M12 Fem	0	0
M12 Mal	7	1
M17 Mal	1	0
	8 = 12%	1 = 1%
*Total from the answers obtained	50 = 90%	5 = 9%

If it is remembered that in the same village as much as 65% of the group said they thought Euskera to be difficult, it may perhaps be deduced that in the present case possible difficulty does not deter subjects from expressing their

* If taken into account the total number of the sample : YES = 42%, NO = 4%.

wish to undertake the task of learning the Basque language. However, it would be very naive to imply that this expression of willingness to learn is any kind of commitment on the part of the subjects to do so.

Discrepancy between attitude - or its symbol, opinion (Thurstone & Chave, 1929 : 216) and behaviour seems to have been a theme present in a number of works in the area of attitudinal studies (Burhans, 1971). Even taking into account some of the factors discussed by Burhans in his review of explanations for low attitude - behaviour correlations - situational factors, accountability ... - the answers from the questionnaire may be taken as an encouraging sign for a possible increase in the number of prospective students of Euskera if offered an opportunity in the right circumstances.

It is undeniable that in the present situation the respondents did not have to account for the opinions they had expressed, and furthermore they might be complying with "social acceptability" (Nunnally, 1964 : 353). However, this research situation was designed to reduce the possible influence of this latter. The respondents were answering the questionnaires in private; they were not asked to write their names on the forms; the answers would not be seen by their teachers; they were unconnected with any kind of gain or loss, etc.

In the words of Thurstone when discussing attitude scales, and the situations in which one may reasonably expect people to tell the truth about their opinions:

"All that we can do is to minimize as far as possible the conditions that prevent our subjects from telling the truth, or else to adjust our interpretations accordingly ..."

(1960 : 218)

In the present study one might assume that the conditions for social pressure which affect the subjects' attitude towards learning Euskera, as measured by the opinions expressed, could be thought of as absent. However, this does not entirely rule out the possibility that the questionnaire analyses what people say their attitude is rather than their real opinions.

In the same section, subjects were asked to back their answers with some reason. The statements were sorted out and grouped into sets according to similarity of content.

Out of the total 63 statements obtained, 58 were favourable and only 5 subjects gave reasons for not wanting to learn Euskera. These negative answers ranged from "Because I have no time to study any more languages" to "Because knowing the language of my province is enough for me". The three remaining statements mentioned difficulty, dislike and one subject preferred to study other languages.

Positive answers indicating willingness to study Euskera - twenty-eight from the younger group and thirty from the older one - although very varied, seemed to fit into six different sets (Appendix 4). The first group was made up of statements indicating a very pragmatic and practical attitude. The reasons given were either usefulness or need for the language, due, as it was explicitly stated in some cases, to a widespread use either at present or in

the foreseen and relatively near future. The second group comprised those statements indicating an interest in understanding and establishing contact with 'them', the speakers of the Basque language. The third group consisted of statements showing different degrees of interest in the language. They ranged from "Today it is very important" without any further indication of where its importance lay, to "It is always convenient to learn". The fourth set stressed the cultural aspect with a double orientation. For some subjects, Euskera was considered in a detached manner as "An interesting language". Others adopted a more involved approach in which it was described as "our" culture, and the need for its survival was stressed.

The fifth group comprised all the statements related to aesthetic appraisal and liking of the language, whereas the last one was characterized by statements with the use of possessives of the first person, frequent references to "my village", "my country", "where I live" ... as if stressing the fact that for the subjects it was a way of recognising "belongingness" to "their" community.

Table 11 presents the distribution of the different categories in the two age groups.

Table 11 : Reasons for learning Euskera

	Useful	Under- standing	General	Cultural	Aesthetic /Liking	Identi- fication
Younger Group	17%	10%	7%	7%	17%	39%
Older Group	13%	3%	10%	20%	13%	40%

In both cases, the highest percentage is found in the last category, that of community identification which was absent among the reasons given for learning languages.

6.4.2 Quality appraisal

This second part of the questionnaire (Appendix 1, B) was designed basically, to elicit information for the following purposes:

- To compile lists of qualities liked and disliked and those felt by the subjects as necessary to achieve success.
- To make comparisons among subgroups of the different lists of qualities obtained.
- To obtain relevant adjectives to be used in future evaluations by the groups under discussion, and,
- To compare the lists obtained from the subjects and the adjectives used in the Semantic Differential Scale in the next part of the questionnaire.

The subjects were asked to write down the four qualities they themselves liked and disliked most in people. They were told not to worry about the ranking in order of importance. For each of the two sections, there was a double entry and subjects were also asked to write down the four qualities they thought 'others' liked and disliked in people. As has already been mentioned, the purpose of this double section was to explore whether results were very different from one another. If subjects were 'faking' their evaluations to comply to an 'accepted' norm, by being

relieved from the accountability of their choice and ascribing it to 'others', a more truthful evaluation might be expected to be obtained in the second entry.

6.4.2.1 Coding items

In connection with the task two problems were expected to arise. The first one was the number of possible options available in this type of open ended exercise. The second one was the problem of deciding on equivalents. Surprisingly, the number of items obtained was far less heterogeneous than had been feared. However, it was decided that variations due to different registers would be ignored and items would be converted to their equivalent in the formal one. Also terms closely related, even if they did not appear as synonyms in the Dictionary, would be coded under the same label.

As these decisions were very idiosyncratic the opinion of other native speakers was sought to check on any possibility of excessive subjective bias.

Once the list of labels was established, a correlation test was carried out between the double entries for the section on 'likes', and the corresponding one on 'dislikes' so as to establish whether there was any affinity between the choices. In view of the number of qualities with similar frequency counts, a Kendall rank order correlation test was used.

The results (Table 12) indicated that the choices in both entries were significantly related in all cases. The

choices were analysed separately for both villages and within villages for the two different age groups.

Table 12 : Relationship between the double entries of choices

	I - II*		III - IV*	
	τ	p	τ	p
D Village	0.75	<0.05	0.70	<0.05
M Village	0.50	"	0.72	"
D12	0.69	"	0.85	"
D17	0.61	"	0.43	"
M12	0.67	"	0.42	"
M17	0.72	"	0.65	"
* I - II = Qualities liked by Subjects and by 'others'. *III - IV = Qualities disliked by Subjects and by 'others'.				

Although the values of τ varied they were all significant at the 0.05 probability level¹⁶, and therefore it may be concluded that an association between the two sets was present.

6.4.2.2 Selection of items and comparison between subgroups

It was decided that in order to establish the lists of qualities liked and disliked, the first four items from either list (in the double entries) would be selected, and in the case of tied results, all the items sharing the same frequency count would be included. Lists were drawn from the different subgroups so as to examine possible variations in choices.

16. Robson, C. *Experiment, Design and Statistics in Psychology*.
 Siegel, S. *Non parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*.

The answers (Appendix 5) indicate different degrees of consensus in the selection, varying with the different headings: preferences, aversions and qualities necessary for success.

The results for the section on 'Success' (Appendix 1, B-5) indicate a high number of qualities related to the area of Competence chosen by almost all groups, with a varying number of qualities associated mainly with Benevolence traits in the second place.

A comparison across villages shows a difference in selection with M Village including 'Kind' and 'True' besides other Competence traits and D Village only mentioning traits in that area.

An analysis of the results from the different age groups indicates that while in M Village the pattern of choice is similar in both cases, the qualities almost equally divided between Competence and Benevolence, in the case of D Village, the older group selected all their qualities from the Competence area but this set of qualities is absent in the most frequent choices of the younger group.

If the results are examined taking into account the sex variable, the pattern of choice is identical between sexes in the younger group in M Village, but differs in D Village with the boys presenting a balanced image with traits from more than one area and the girls omitting traits from the Competence area altogether. In the older group the comparison is only possible in D Village, but the selection is not so divergent as with the younger group.

To obtain the final list of qualities considered necessary for success the following procedure was followed: the four qualities with the highest frequency counts from each village were included, plus the four items selected from the age subgroups, plus the choices of the subgroups divided according to sex and age. The order of ranking in the final list is a result of the number of subgroups mentioning this particular quality. Table 13 presents the results of this selection.

Table 13 : Qualities necessary for 'Success'

1.	Intelligent
2.	Hardworking
3.	True/Kind
4.	Responsible
5.	Likeable
6.	With initiative
7.	Active
8.	Good
9.	Ambitious
10.	Generous

When this list was checked against the one provided in the Semantic Differential Scale in the next section, only two items had not been included, 'True' and the overall evaluation of 'Good'.

The answers for the section on 'Likes' (Appendix 1, B-1/2) were compiled in the same way as described above for 'Success'. They indicate a shift in the selection of qualities from the previous section. The items selected are more related to the areas of Benevolence and Social Attractiveness. And this choice is consistent across all subgroups. Table 14 shows the final list of qualities liked in people drawn by the answers given by different subgroups.

Table 14 : Qualities 'Liked' in people

1. True/Likeable
2. Kind
3. Good/Responsible
4. Honest/Good looks
5. Intelligent/With Personality
6. Generous/Sociable/Loyal
7. Hardworking/Educated/Just/Friendly

The first contrast, besides the shift in the choice of qualities mentioned previously, is the number of tied results, indicating less agreement among subgroups than before. The subgroups are divided in their favouring of qualities, although agreed in the choice of areas of personality to be considered as salient in establishing their image of 'liked' people.

The answers for the section on 'Dislikes' (Appendix 1, B-3/4) present very similar results. Table 15 offers the final list of qualities disliked in people

Table 15 : Qualities 'Disliked' in people

1. Dishonest
2. Proud
3. Selfish/Disloyal
4. Disagreeable/Hard
5. Ambitious/Rude
6. Revengeful/Obstinate/Irresponsible/Envious
7. Ugly
8. Stupid/Confusing/Not enduring

Again, the areas of Benevolence and Social Attractiveness are favoured and to a lesser extent Competence. However, there are two adjectives, 'Ambitious' and 'Hard' which are ranked higher and repeated more often in M Village than in D Village.

When the lists from 'Likes' and 'Dislikes' are checked to see what new elements they have elicited, there are a few labels that had not yet been used. On the positive side: 'Good', 'Good Looks', 'Educated', 'Just', and 'Friendly' and on the pejorative side: 'Proud', 'Ugly' and 'Confusing'. It might be worth mentioning that those references to physical traits were only to be found among the answers of the younger group. But overall, there were almost no innovations to be added to the ones already presented in the Semantic Differential Scale.

6.4.3 Stereotype projection

This third part of the questionnaire was designed to explore whether if a stereotyped image of Basque speakers was present among the respondents it could be projected by means of different exercises. There were three sections which could be labelled as forming impressions of personality, variations in general impression, and evaluation of personality traits.

6.4.3.1 Forming impressions of personality

The purpose of this section (Appendix 1, C-1) was to elicit adjectives prompted by listening to the speakers using both guises. This task would allow the subjects more freedom in their selection of 'labels' than the constrained rating of a list presented to them. If

"A stereotype presumably implies a community-wide acceptance of traits believed to characterize an ethnic group". (17)

- in this experiment which was a linguistic one - this procedure would enlarge the number of various traits present in the image evoked by the speaker stimulus. Also, the results would contribute to make up for the possible shortcomings of the Semantic Differential Scale, since as has been argued (Tajfel et al., 1964) these adjectival descriptions in the scale cannot be assumed to represent the stereotypes. If other adjectives had been included, it is possible that the selection would have resulted in a different consensus in the choice.

In addition, it was assumed that the language stimulus of an individual speaking would spark a better reaction than any other system previously mentioned of eliciting information on possible stereotyped linguistic reactions. It was also felt that not only the attitude towards the task would be improved by obtaining a more willing participation from the subjects at rating a person, rather than attaching labels to a group, but also that the stimulus would be specific rather than abstract, and this latter would produce better results.

In their study of stereotypes, Tajfel, Sheikh and Gardner (1964) point out the fact that few studies have attempted to demonstrate that specific individuals of an ethnic group are actually attributed traits which are presumed characteristic of that ethnic group. Thus there is felt to be a gap in the study of relationships between the general stereotype and the ratings of the individual members of the group.

In a revision of the research on the discrepancy between attitude and behaviour, Burhans (1971) lists among other factors explaining low attitude behaviour correlations, firstly the fact that the stimuli for attitude tests are usually stereotypes and secondly the possibility of obtaining different results when responses are elicited by a specific stimulus. Therefore, using an individual speaker to elicit possible linguistic stereotyped responses seemed to be a better choice than any other so far considered.

The subjects were asked to listen to each speaker and to write down the four qualities they thought would describe that person best. They were not supposed to rank them in any order, but simply to enumerate them as they came into their minds.

As in the case of the section on 'Quality Appraisal', the first problem to be dealt with was sorting out the synonyms, related expressions, etc., to a smaller number of items which would be easier to handle. Again, as in the above mentioned section, the number of 'labels' was less numerous than anticipated.

In trying to decrease the number of items to a more reduced core of equivalents there was danger of missing part of the total semantic content of the item. Thurstone (1960) proposed the idea of an index of affective intensity for adjectives in a dictionary, so that two adjectives such as 'famous' and 'notorious', which might be equivalent as to cognitive meaning and yet differ widely in affective meaning might be kept differentiated by way of this index of affective intensity.

In the present case this semantic exploration might have proved very useful, specially when dealing with favourable inclinations or negative reactions. However, the process of categorization was carried out only along the cognitive aspect without taking into account the affective one. For example: "A lo suyo", "Bruto", "Burro", "Cabeza dura", "Cabezota", "Ideas fijas", "No fácil de convencer", "Terco", "Testarudo".

All the above items were included under 'Obstinate', although the affective component present in "Cabezota" might differ from "A lo suyo", the former having a more affectionate connotation than the latter and varying in range from almost the English equivalents of 'Wilful' to 'Pigheaded'.

The 'raw' input of different labels, one word items or phrases, was grouped in the above manner into more general labels numbering about one third of the original ones. Again, as in the previous section on 'Quality Appraisal' the inclusion of items under new labels was checked with native speakers, and if it was felt that the new heading was somehow contrived, the original term was not altered, at the expense of less significant results due to a wider dispersion of choices and therefore a lesser concentration of frequency counts.

The answers were analysed separately for each speaker in each guise. Table 16 shows the qualities with the highest frequency counts.

Table 16 : Most frequent choices in open end labelling

BMS* : Responsible Hardworking Sociable/Good Kind	*Basque Male Speaker
CMS* : Hard Self-reliant Responsible Intelligent/Tall	*Castilian Male Speaker
BFS* : Kind Intelligent/Responsible Likeable Earnest	*Basque Female Speaker
CFS* : Kind Intelligent Honest Peaceloving/Sociable	*Castilian Female Speaker

In this overall analysis of the answers from all subjects to the two speakers in both guises, the first contrast to be noticed is the different choice of adjectives in the first position to describe the male and female speakers irrelevant of their guise. The latter is described basically as 'Kind' with a large difference between this trait and the second adjective in the frequency count, while the former does not get such consensus for the first place and added to the second label, the image is more in the competence area.

If results are analysed separately for each village (Table 17) this mention of kindness is still present in the description of the female speaker but with different degrees of consensus as measured by percentages. The same applies to the labelling of 'Hard' for the male speaker in his Castilian guise.

Table 17 : Most frequent choices in open end labelling according to Villages

	D Village	M Village
BMS*	Tall/Sociable Responsible/Kind Active/Peaceloving Earnest	Hardworking Responsible Good Self reliant
CMS	Tall Responsible/Self reliant Intelligent Hard/Sociable	Hard Intelligent Active/Self reliant/ Religious Honest
BFS	Kind Intelligent Tall/Earnest/Likeable Peaceloving	Kind Responsible Intelligent/Likeable Honest
CFS	Hardworking/Peaceloving/ Tall/Likeable Intelligent Kind Self reliant/Sociable	Kind Honest Intelligent Sociable
*BMS = Basque Male Speaker CMS = Castilian Male Speaker BFS = Basque Female Speaker CFS = Castilian Female Speaker		

Table 18 presents the results looked at in a different way, trying to use the frequency counts for each position with a) corresponding to the most frequent choice in the first to the fourth places - 1 to 4 -, and b) to the second highest frequency count for the same places, etc. For example, in the case of BMS, a) 'Responsible - Self reliant - Hard working', are the adjectives most often mentioned by the subjects as crossing their minds in the first, second, etc., place.*

Table 18 : Most frequent choices according to their ranking order

		1	2	3	4
BMS	a)	Responsible	Self reliant	Self reliant	Hard working
	b)	Kind	Tall	Hard working	Good
	c)	Earnest	Sociable	Sociable	Self reliant
	d)	Hard working	Active	Kind	Honest
CMS	a)	Tall	Hard	Responsible	Hardworking
	b)	Hard	Tall	Self reliant	Religious
	c)	Self reliant	Personality	Sociable	Kind
	d)	Intelligent	Self reliant	Independent	Honest
BFS	a)	Kind	Kind	Kind	Hard working
	b)	Peace loving	Intelligent	True	Kind
	c)	Responsible	Likeable	Likeable	Honest
	d)	Earnest	Responsible	Intelligent	Likeable
CFS	a)	Kind	Sociable	Kind	Kind
	b)	Intelligent	Kind	Likeable	Honest
	c)	Peace loving	Religious	Intelligent	Hard working
	d)	Likeable	Likeable	Honest	Loyal

* All the statistical calculations were carried out using the SPSS Program at the Computer Department of the University of Edinburgh.

If the speakers are compared across guises, one of the differences is again the absence of the term 'Hard' from the BMS and its use with his Castilian guise, while 'Kind' also appears in a slightly more prominent place in the former than in the latter. Again, this label seems to be the main feature coming out in the descriptions of the female speaker irrespective of the guise.

Across guises and speakers there is one trait common to both speakers in the Basque guise, 'Earnest', and another trait common to both speakers in the Castilian one, 'Religious', that are not present in their alternative guises.

However, although on the whole, the same items were found in both guises, their respective positions differed. If a certain orientation of the traits might produce a different overall general impression (Asch, 1946), then the evaluation of one guise in that order 'Responsible - Self reliant - Hard working' might be very different from 'Tall - Hard - Responsible - Hard working'. And if

"... the characteristics forming the basis of an impression do not contribute each a fixed, independent meaning, but ... their content is itself partly a function of the environment of the other characteristics, of their mutual relations"

(1946 : 268)

then the impression obtained from 'Kind and Hard working' (BFS) might differ considerably from 'Kind and Sociable', where the content of the first half of the description might be tinted differently because of the other adjective in the environment.

Similarly, if there are traits that are felt to be 'central' compared to others considered 'peripheral', it would be interesting to investigate which ones could be listed in the former category and how the affective value of the other set would be altered. Could the 'Kind - Hard' contrast be considered as an organising device where the traits in the BMS case b) 'Kind - Tall - Hard working', are considered as positive evaluations on the Benevolence side, 'and' reinforced by the overall summing up of 'Good', versus an impression of positive ability traits of competence in the CMS case a) 'Tall - Responsible - Hard working', 'but' lessened in the overall affective appreciation by the 'Hard' trait?

This 'kind - hard' mention appears again when the results are analysed according to different villages (Table 19). Here, only the first two highest count choices were considered.

In the results for the male speaker, the mention of kindness for the Basque guise comes from D Village and it is absent in M Village. For the Castilian guise there is a mirror image. 'Hard' is mentioned by the subjects from M Village and is absent in D Village. For the female speaker, mentions of kindness appear in both guises and in both villages.

When the answers were looked at once more, this time not only the village but the age group as well, the small number of subjects in these subgroups made the frequency counts so very low indeed as not to be considered as

reliable 'consensus' for any indication of agreement

Table 19 : Most frequent choices in their ranking order from either village

D VILLAGE			1	2	3	4
BMS	a) b)	Kind Tall		Earnest Active	Responsible Sociable	Honest Peace loving
CMS	a) b)	Tall Intelligent		Self reliant Tall	Responsible Self reliant	Responsible Independent
BFS	a) b)	Peace loving Intelligent		Kind Earnest	Kind Tall	Loyal Likeable
CFS	a) b)	Intelligent Peace loving		Hard working Religious	Peace loving Likeable	Hard working Kind
M VILLAGE			1	2	3	4
BMS	a) b)	Responsible Earnest		Responsible Self reliant	Hard working With personality	Hard working Self reliant
CMS	a) b)	Hard Active		Hard Ambitious	Self reliant Sociable	Religious Hard working
BFS	a) b)	Kind Responsible		Intelligent Kind	Kind True	Honest With personality
CFS	a) b)	Kind Intelligent		Kind Reserved	Honest Kind	Kind Honest

Although one of the aims of this exercise had been not only to obtain a wider range of descriptive labels but a more appropriate set to the group under discussion, the answers did not require significant alterations to the scale already provided. This might be explained by the order in which the exercises were undertaken. Therefore, this result might be expected in terms of frequent exposure to certain items that are repeated with every speaker's evaluation in

the Semantic Differential Scale. The new labels were mainly in terms of different degrees of formality and affective content attached to the terms.

However, an important contribution not included in the original scale was the term "Serio", which from the phrases used to qualify it in a number of cases should not be interpreted as an antonym to "Alegre" (cheerful), but as 'Reliable, Honest, Trustworthy, Earnest, True, Authentic'. This seemed the comprehensive term favoured to include the above overall impression, rather than using the other partial descriptions.

Although the exercise did not provide new contributions to add to the list of traits, it forced the subjects to pick up the four traits they thought of as more appropriate to describe the speaker, sorting out to a certain extent the salient traits from lesser ones. Some adjectives offered in the scale hardly ever occurred in this spontaneous evaluation (Traditional, Enduring, Tenacious). Other traits however appeared repeatedly even if they did not obtain the highest frequency counts to be included in the lists made up with only the top scores.

In the overall assessment of the results of the exercise its possible shortcomings should first of all be pointed out once more. First, it was necessary to change the 'raw' data into equivalents with the resulting loss of semantic information, especially when evaluative attitudinal reactions were at stake in the task. Secondly, given the amount of possible combinations of an open ended exercise as

the present one, the analysis of results on an individual basis was not undertaken. The results obtained from the total group or subgroup, may misrepresent the sum of individual evaluations.

Therefore, the following section was included in order to analyse not only the possible shifts of individuals to different guises but also to gauge a more compressed overall impression than the one obtained from partial traits.

6.4.3.2 Variations in general impression

The purpose of this section (Appendix 1, C-2) was to try and elicit a global reaction to the speaker and observe individual variations in the subjects. In this case it was felt that a different procedure might be tried out rather than one in terms of an adjectival description.

Therefore, a tentative trial at projecting the degree of acceptance or rejection *of* the different speakers was attempted. For this purpose a scale already employed by Van Til and Rath (1944) was used. The scale followed the principles of the Guttman scaling, that is, the components were ordered by degree of difficulty and it was assumed that those subjects that answered positively to a difficult item would also answer in the same manner to a less difficult one. This type of scale used to measure 'social distance' (Bogardus, 1958), was in this case intended to study overall acceptance of the speaker.

The original scale was translated¹⁸ and adopted as it had been ranked in the above mentioned experiment. Although in using similar types of attitude scales, the first step should be the collection of statements of attitude towards the object from the group under study, and then the sorting out of the different statements into categories, ranging from very unfavourable to very favourable (Thurstone and Chave, 1929), this was not carried out. Even if a method omitting these steps were not completely adequate, it was felt that since it was an exploratory attempt it might be used as it had originally been designed and possible alterations left until the first results were analysed.

Furthermore, the scale seemed to comply to the criteria associated with the building and use of this type of scale. The statements seemed to be ordered from most to least difficult in acceptance of speakers, therefore, the criteria of "unidimensionality and cumulativeness" (Nie, 1970) appeared to have been met. As for the application of this particular set of statements, they also seemed to cover the characteristics required in similar occasions. They were brief, seemed clear for the comprehension of the subjects under

-
18. a = "Me gustaría tenerle como a mi mejor amigo"
(WOULD HAVE AS MY BEST FRIEND)
b = "Me gustaría invitarle a mi casa"
(WOULD LIKE TO TAKE HOME FOR A VISIT)
c = "Disfrutaría charlando con esta persona"
(WOULD ENJOY TALKING WITH)
d = "Le aceptaría en mi grupo de trabajo"
(WOULD ACCEPT ON A WORKTEAM)
e = "Sólo querría conocerle de vista"
(WOULD KEEP ONLY AS A SPEAKING ACQUAINTANCE)
f = "Preferiría que estuviera en otra clase"
(WOULD RATHER NOT SIT WITH IN THE SAME CLASS)
g = "Preferiría tenerle cuanto más lejos mejor"
(WOULD RATHER HAVE MILES AWAY).

study, were appropriate to the school setting where the exercise was taking place and could be accepted or rejected as an expression of agreement or disagreement of the subjects.

Having accepted that the items in the scale mentioned measured movement towards or away from the speaker, and that the items had been ordered by degree of difficulty, then the subjects' attitude could be represented by a point on the scale that would cover the range of opinions that any particular individual was willing to endorse (Thurstone, 1960) and this would be a mark which would correspond to his desired 'nearness' to the type of people under study (Nunnally, 1964).

However, as an experiment in ascertaining to what extent this assumption could be supported, the instructions printed at the beginning of the exercise and which were read aloud by the researcher to the subjects, asked them to tick "What you think describes best" ... without specific mention as to whether they should use one or more boxes.

The results obtained confirmed the hypothesis that when people chose to tick more than one box they would do it in a continuous progression from 'g' upwards, without leaving empty boxes between their marks.

The seven items therefore seemed to come close to the ideal scaling pattern¹⁹, although items 'c' and 'd' had caused some doubts about their order of ranking. Item 'c',

19. Oskamp, S. : **Attitudes and Opinions**. "... no more than 10% of inconsistent responses are allowed if a scale is to be considered unidimensional" p. 32.

"Would enjoy talking with" seemed not to be distinctively all that remote from item 'd', "Would accept on my workteam". In the original scale, item 'c' was labelled as "close to me", while item 'd' was described as "neither close to me nor far from me". In one opinion, "workteam" seemed to have a higher degree of closeness than "talking with". However, there were no significant contradictions in the selection of items with the established given order. There are two possible explanations for this agreement, first, the decreasing order from 'a' to 'g' might influence the subjects' perception, and secondly, perhaps the difference between "enjoy" and "accept" cancelled any possible discrepancy or clash between "talk" and "workteam". Acceptance was perceived as more passive than active enjoyment of talking.

If the answers are examined in terms of group tendencies, before individual shifts, the results indicate that if we take statement 'd' as a neutral one of the type "neither close to me nor far from me", the percentage of subjects endorsing statements below or above this neutral point presents a difference between speakers and guises (Table 20). Speakers in their Basque guise are rated more favourably and the female speaker is rated more highly irrespective of her guise.

Table 20 : Overall ratings for acceptance of speakers

Statements	BMS	BFS	CMS	CFS
'a' - 'c'	57%	65%	43%	57%
'd'	25%	15%	19%	19%
'e' - 'g'	3%	3%	2%	2%
No answer	15%	17%	36%	22%

Breaking down the results according to village (Table 21), the ratings for the female speaker are higher than her counterpart's once more within each guise. However, while the subjects from M Village rate her higher in her Basque guise, the ones from D Village gave her slightly better ratings in her Castilian one. In the case of the male speaker both villages rate him more highly in his Basque guise, with a greater difference from M Village.

Table 21 : Village ratings for acceptance of speakers

Statements	BMS		BFS		CMS		CFS	
	D Vil.	M Vil.	D Vil.	M Vil.	D Vil.	M Vil.	D Vil.	M Vil.
'a' - 'c'	51%	61%	57%	72%	48%	40%	59%	55%
'd'	25%	24%	22%	10%	22%	16%	27%	12%
'e' - 'g'	4%	2%	3%	2%	3%	1%	3%	1%
No answer	20%	13%	18%	16%	27%	43%	11%	32%

If we study the individual shifts in the evaluation of speakers, grouped according to village and age group (Table 22), the results indicate that while the male speaker is never rated more highly in his Castilian guise, the female speaker is treated differently in one instance, the younger group in D Village.

Table 22 : Individual shifts in acceptance grouped by age and village

		No Difference	Variation	Euskera Higher	Castilian Higher
Male Speaker	M17	27%	72%	72%	0%
	D17	22%	77%	45%	31%
	M12	21%	78%	58%	28%
	D12	36%	63%	33%	30%
Female Speaker	M17	21%	78%	45%	32%
	D17	40%	59%	36%	22%
	M12	28%	71%	42%	28%
	D12	33%	66%	16%	50%

The general trend in these shifts in overall impression is more often than not to give a mark indicating more 'social nearness' to the Basque guise than to the Castilian one and this is more clearly perceived with the male speaker.

If we group the individual shifts also according to the sex of the subjects the following figures are obtained (Table 23). These figures present a curious trend among the older group of girls. When they give different marks, exactly half favour Euskera and the other half Castilian. The younger group of girls follow the pattern already seen of giving more distant social measurements to the CMS, but then not having such a clear cut image for the female.

Table 23 : Individual shifts in acceptance grouped by age, sex and village.

		No Difference	Variation	Euskera Higher	Castilian Higher
Male Speaker					
Boys	M17	27%	72%	72%	0%
	D17	0%	100%	80%	20%
	M12	23%	76%	47%	29%
	D12	30%	70%	30%	40%
Girls	M17	21%	78%	45%	32%
	D17	20%	80%	80%	0%
	M12	29%	70%	47%	23%
	D12	40%	60%	20%	40%
Female Speaker					
Boys	M17	-	-	-	-
	D17	22%	70%	35%	35%
	M12	18%	81%	54%	27%
	D12	40%	60%	35%	25%
Girls	M17	-	-	-	-
	D17	47%	52%	23%	23%
	M12	27%	72%	36%	36%
	D12	30%	70%	15%	55%

The boys in the older group tend to favour the Basque guise *irrespective* of sex, while the younger boys tend to give higher measurements to the Castilian guise in D Village and to the Basque guise in M Village, also irrespective of the sex of the speaker.

Having examined the overall reactions, a final trait analysis was undertaken in the next section, similar to other previous studies.

6.4.3.3 Evaluation of personality traits

Briefly, the purpose of the exercise was to answer a threefold question:

- is there a stereotyped reaction to a specific speaker in a particular guise?
- if so, is this reaction associated with any distinctive variable of the subjects?
- are there any particular traits of personality more salient to be stereotyped?

To achieve this purpose, subjects were asked to score the 29 traits in the Semantic Differential Scale on a ten point basis (Appendix 1, C-3).

In order to establish whether there was any difference perceived between the two guises, Basque and Castilian, of the two speakers, first a comparison of means, 'the most typical value', for each one of the 29 traits of the scale was undertaken. This overall examination would provide general information only, on whether the means were located towards one or the other end of the rating scale, and if

their place was similar or not between guises and speakers.

At first glance, the overall mean scores of both guises (Appendix 6) seemed to follow a similar pattern of low or high scores for the same traits. For example:

	<u>Basque</u>	<u>Castilian</u>
Active	5.8	5.7
Quiet	4.7	4.7
Honest	6.8	6.7
Intelligent	7.1	7.2

In twenty-three traits out of the total of twenty-nine, the mean difference between guises was less than half a point (the exceptions being : Kind, Ambitious, Loyal, Religious and Wealthy) and in the case of Independent, exactly half a point. Therefore, plotting profiles of trait evaluation in each guise, would render very similar graphical representations.

The profile lines would be more divergent if they were drawn from the figures obtained from each village separately or for each speaker. When the comparisons of mean scores were done from the results of the subgroups (village, age and sex) the results were even more varied. This variation could be seen by comparing the different degrees of variance between traits. If we look at the Basque guise of both speakers by way of illustration, in the case of the male speaker, the difference between the highest and lowest subgroups scores for 'Hard working' was only 1.2 while for 'Initiative', it was 5.1. For the female speaker, the range in means for the same traits was 1.9 and 4.1 respectively.

However, even within variation, there was in some cases a fairly consistent agreement in the placing of means above or below the neutral score of 5. For example, the means for the trait 'Intelligent' for the BMS and BFS ranged from 6.2 up to 8.0, and 6.8 to 8.2 respectively, while the ones for 'Wealthy' varied from 1.6 to 5.5 and 2.8 up to only 4.9 for each speaker.

In some instances, there was a noticeable difference between the mean scores for the male and female speakers within the same guise. For example, the trait 'Independent' was rated from 6.2 to 9.3 for the BMS and only from 5.3 to 7.1 for the BFS. Or when comparing one speaker across guises, for example, the means for the trait 'Loyal' ranged from 5.9 to 8.8 for the BMS and only from 4.0 to 6.9 for the CMS.

These comparisons of mean scores could offer some information as to a certain degree of stereotypy as measured by differences in the mean scores between guises. However, they did not give any indication of how significant these apparent differences might be.

The results of t tests (Table 24) comparing scores in the two guises show that, out of the total 29 traits in the scale, significant differences were found in only less than half.

In most cases the entries indicated a more favourable evaluation towards the Basque guise than towards its counterpart. Also most of the significant differences are clustered in M Village and with results of the male speaker.

As for the traits, they seem to cover all areas of personality without any distinctive preference for a specific one.

Table 24 : t values for significance in evaluations for each speaker from each village

	D Village		M Village	
	Male Speaker	Female Speaker	Male Speaker	Female Speaker
Active			4.8	
Ambitious			-0.3	
Hard working			0.3	
Honest			0.6	-5.0
Humour				-4.5
Kind	0.2			
Loyal			0.2	
Peace loving		1.3		
Religious	-3.7			-0.1
Responsible		2.9		
Sociable			2.8	
Wealthy			-0.1	

Positive figures indicate that the Basque guise is more favourably evaluated than the Castilian one, and negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

All results are significant at *0.5 probability level.

If instead of analysing individual traits the answers for the whole scales are examined, the results of a Spearman rank correlation test give significant similarities in the ranking order for both guises. For example, the r values for correlations between the results of both guises from the total number of subjects, from D Village and from M Village

were respectively 0.92, 0.90 and 0.88 all significant at the 0.05 probability level.

6.5 Evaluation and Redesign of Format

Having analysed the information obtained with the current questionnaire, it was felt that some changes could be introduced in its format for use in the main survey. Another reason for alteration was that the number of speakers in the tape should be increased from four to eight and therefore the exercise would become lengthier. Any possible reductions would be all the more necessary especially from those sections which had not yielded significant data.

The first part of the questionnaire dealing with Background information was altered in the following ways:

- Only the essential questions to identify each case by sex, birthplace and age were retained.
- The section on Study of Languages was reduced to their liking or dislike of learning, but the section on ranking according to preference was subdivided into two parts, on the grounds of 'beauty' and 'usefulness', so as to enable the subjects to compromise between perceived instrumental value and perhaps their own language loyalty feelings.
- Finally, the section on familiarity with Euskera was reduced only to the subject's own assessment, but it was altered from a general YES/NO statement to a finer grading scale with six options ranging from 'Not at all' to 'Fluently'.

In the light of the results already discussed, the second part of the questionnaire dealing with Quality Appraisal was reduced to only the opinions of the speaker - not of what he thought other people's opinions were - and in order to avoid too many different options the number of items in each section was reduced from four to three.

Eventually, a new section was added about 'what' the subjects associated with the Basque character. This section was a tentative exploration into ascertaining whether the subjects would be reluctant to complete it, and if they did agree to answer, what kind of 'image' they would attach to the explicit label, as compared to the evaluative description they had already projected unawares.

The third part of the questionnaire was reduced in its first section from four to three qualities and so was the number of items in the semantic differential scale. However, there was a new addition, "Serio" (Earnest, True, Responsible, 'De confianza', 'Honrado'), prompted by the lists elicited from the open ended exercise.

A final section was added, asking the subjects to write down what they thought the job or profession of the speaker was in order to explore their possible social status appraisal of either language.

6.6 Conclusion

In the exploration of whether a stereotyped reaction to Basque speakers existed among two groups of school teenagers in two villages in the province of Bizkaia, the results appear to give some basis for advancing the following conclusions.

The sample proved to be homogeneous as far as birth-place and length of residence in the province were concerned. So were their overall reactions towards their past or present experience of their study of languages. If their favourable opinions were to be taken as reliable symbols of their attitudes towards the task, and these attitudes could be held as indicators of future behaviour without too large a discrepancy, then the place of languages even after leaving school could be described as very hopeful for those who value foreign languages as a means of introduction to the study of other cultures, and especially those of minority groups.

However, this deduction seems to be an ambitious one, not only in trying to interpret opinions as signals for consistent behaviour, but also on account of the second claim for presenting the study of languages at the present moment, interpreted as an opportunity to acquaint students with the ways of thinking and living of another people. At least this orientation is not likely to be verified from the current results under discussion in all cases.

In general, the favourable views of the subjects were qualified by their pragmatic reasons reiterating the languages present or future use. The selection of languages as most favoured by the subjects to be spoken seemed to provide further evidence for this utilitarian orientation. Those languages ranked as top choices were the two most widely spoken and used in the international context - science, business, travel, etc. - as probably envisaged by the population under study.

Euskera was also included among the three first choices and a number of the answers did seem to indicate that the explanation offered above, for English and French as useful languages, might not entirely cover the reason for the inclusion of the Basque language in the list of preferences. Besides the mention of its widespread use - present and future - and therefore the convenience of speaking it, there were enough answers of a different kind as to suggest other motives. Even taking into account the role of Euskera as a second language in some areas of the province compared to other languages considered as foreign - immediate usefulness as opposed to a more remote possibility - there was a set of answers left to be accounted for.

The difference in the linguistic background might have explained some of the answers in terms of language loyalty towards some of the subjects' mother tongue. However, this set was spread evenly between both groups irrespective of the figures for Basque speakers in the village. Where the linguistic area was felt as a factor affecting results

- which were not altered by the difficulty perceived in the language - it was in the degree of willingness to take up the study of the Basque language. Although the figures followed the expected pattern of not being so numerous among the group from the area with a higher percentage of Euskera speakers, these subjects took up the opportunity of reaffirming their 'belongingness' to their speech community by reasserting their appreciation in an almost 'identification act' of language study.

If a tendency towards association with the language, by either expressing readiness to take it up or reiterating the esteem you hold it in, seems to be present, then it would seem reasonable to conclude that a positive appreciation of the image associated with that particular group is held.

In trying to establish what values were prevailing among the population under study, a division was made : the domain of mainly affective appraisal of character, entailing like or dislike of individuals, and a more detached area related to achieving status. The answers to the former, basically the social likeability of individuals, were predominantly in the areas of Benevolence and Social Attractiveness, while the latter, their chance for success, was perceived in terms of Competence traits.

When attempting to establish what traits seemed more salient in the speakers of the Basque language, the Castilian counterpart was used as a point of reference in the evaluations. The results of this contrast were then to be compared with the views from the sample on their preferences, aversions and perception of the likelihood of success.

The results of this evaluation indicated that to a certain extent the dimension 'kind - hard' seemed to be operative as an organising device in diverging descriptions. It was used as a recurrent element taking priority over other qualities in the description of the female speaker. It also established a contrast by its absence or presence - or even frequency of use - in the description of the male speaker, which varied according to age, sex, village of the subjects and guise being rated.

Significant differences in isolated personality traits seemed to repeat the dichotomy in the perception of 'Kindness' for the BMS* and 'Ambition' and 'Wealth' for the CMS*, in a criss-cross effect, where subjects from an area with a high percentage of Euskera speakers rated the BMS as less ambitious and wealthy, and those from an area with a very low percentage rated him as more kind.

Age group seemed to be a main source of variance in the establishment of an image, reproducing the findings of previous developmental studies on language attitudes and preferences which indicate that by adolescence children have developed a social awareness of the languages or dialects used in their speech communities. In the current analysis the difference in answers seems to point to this shift taking place somewhere between the two age groups in the study.

The effects of the interaction between the sex of the speakers and the reactions of male and female raters are

* Basque Male Speaker = BMS
Castilian Male Speaker = CMS

very complex and difficult to summarize. However, the sex of the speakers seems to cause more variation in the results than the differences between the rating of the same speaker by subjects of different sex within the same age group.

As for a clear stereotyped evaluation as projected from the ratings of the scale on isolated qualities, there is almost general agreement on considering the Basque speaker as less ambitious, religious, self reliant and wealthy and more kind, generous, independent, peace loving and responsible. This assessment is maintained in its general outline when the evaluations are analysed according to each village but differ to a much wider extent when both speakers are contrasted within one guise. Also a gross assessment of degree of acceptance for individual speakers seemed to support the tendency: the male speaker being better accepted and the ratings from boys being somewhat more extreme than those from girls.

A general assessment of the evaluation of the Basque speaker in the light of the appraisal of qualities in the group might be summed up as 'liked but somewhat weak in chances of success'. However, this should be accepted with reservations.

If the results seem to repeat those of previous studies in other linguistic communities, i.e. Canada, Wales, Scotland, ..., in so far as different treatment of the male and female speakers, different ratings according to age and sex, different saliency of personality traits for each guise depending on the linguistic background of the raters ...

there is no conclusive evidence for postulating that there is a common wide stereotype in the community. The results therefore seem not to project such a clear cut image as previous studies where all groups seemed to hold common stereotyped images mainly favourable to the majority language speakers and prejudiced against the minority groups.

The present results seem to indicate the presence of a fairly general favourable attitude towards the Basque language and its speakers but a less clearly perceived stereotyped image of the Basque speakers with far less agreement from the different groups in the population.

CHAPTER 7

Main Survey

7.1 Introduction

This research was undertaken to ascertain whether the results previously obtained in the Pilot Study confirmed the pattern of attitude towards Basque speakers among school teenagers in the county of Bizkaia¹.

The survey was carried out by means of questionnaires² completed by 241 pupils of Primary and Secondary State schools in the spring term of the school year 1979-1980.

The results will be discussed for the content information obtained from the answers and also compared with those obtained from the Pilot Study.

7.2 Sampling Procedure

The sampling procedure used was identical to that discussed in the previous chapter: namely, the three variables taken into account in the selection of cases were those of linguistic background of the area, age and sex.

7.2.1 Linguistic Background

Four villages were selected according to the figures for Basque speakers given in the previously mentioned SIADECO Report (Chapter 6).

1. Cf. Aguado's survey (1983) to 25 secondary school students, whose parents had immigrated to Euskadi, on their attitudes towards Euskera.

2. Model of Questionnaire: Appendix 7a.

The situation of the villages is shown on the map (Figure 3). Two of them, Gernika/Guernica (1) and Igorre/Yurre (2) are in the Bascophone area. The other two, Balmaseda/Valmaseda and Barakaldo/Baracaldo are in the contact area. The selection of villages from these two areas was made in order to establish a sufficient contrast in linguistic background.



Figure 3: Villages in this survey showing linguistic areas.

Recent information on the villages provides the following data:

- (1) Gernika : 33 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants : 17,506 (Census, 1975); 18,294 (Rectification to Census Dec. 31, 1979). According to the Census 8,903 were born in the village and another 4,632 in the county.
- (2) Igorre: 22kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants : 3,167 (Census, 1975); 3,441 (Rectification to Census Dec. 31, 1979). Immigrants : 'without a significant number' (PAL Encyclopaedia).

- (3) Balmaseda : 30 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants : 7,916 (Census, 1975); 8,340 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1979) 'Native inhabitants are only a minority' (PAL Encyclopaedia).
- (4) Barakaldo : 9 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants : 117,747 (Census, 1975); 123,760 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1979). Immigrants : more than 70% (PAL Encyclopaedia, 1973).

However, although both villages, Balmaseda and Barakaldo, are included in the same linguistic area, there is a difference in their past linguistic development since the Basque language was lost at different times in each village. In the former, it was spoken until the beginning of the c18th, but lost by the end of that century, while in the latter, Euskera was still spoken at the end of the c19th³.

7.2.2 Age Groups and Sex

The same age groups used in the Pilot Study, '12 and 17 year olds', were used again for this new survey. However, with the older group, the type of school was different. This time it was possible to obtain the answers of students from 'Institutos' as had been originally designed.

All groups had a fairly even number of boys and girls in them, and therefore were much better balanced than in the Pilot Study

3. Euskaltzaindia (1979) *Conflicto Lingüístico* ... p. 50.

7.3 Design and Administration of Questionnaires

7.3.1 Design

As was discussed at the end of the Pilot Study⁴, the format of the questionnaires was redesigned as follows:

- In the first section of the exercise, in order to focus the information on the 'instrumental' and 'aesthetic' aspects of the languages subjects were asked to rank three languages according first to 'usefulness' and then to 'beauty', instead of presenting them with an open question such as : "What three languages would you like to speak?".

In the same section, in order to elicit more information about knowledge of Euskera, the YES/NO answers were changed into a six point scale ranging from NOT AT ALL to FLUENTLY. With this enlarged option, it was expected that there would be a finer subjective assessment of their degree of knowledge of Euskera from the subjects.

- In the second section, to concentrate the answers related to preferences (Qualities liked, disliked, etc.), the number of items requested was reduced from four to three. At the same time, a final part was included geared towards a direct elicitation of qualities relative to the Basque character.
- In the third and final section, the number of answers demanded for rating each speaker was reduced from four to three.

4. See 6.5 p. 196.

In addition, items in the rating of qualities on the Semantic Differential Scale were reduced from 29 to 22. However, a further question on the job or profession of the speaker just heard was included. It was thought that this addition would provide more fruitful and relevant information on the possible socio-economic status of the speaker than the seven qualities omitted.

Besides these changes another aspect of the task was altered in two important ways. Firstly, the number of speakers was increased from two to six, offering a wider range of stimuli to listen to. Of the four new speakers, two of them - one man and one woman - had a distinctive Basque accent when speaking Castilian, and so were easy to identify, which might provide new information on stereotypes⁵. The other new pair read the passage three times: once in Castilian and twice in Basque. The first Basque reading used 'Batua' = 'unified Euskera' - a standard language without boundaries - whereas the second used the Biscayan dialect⁶.

The purpose of this addition was to see whether the results obtained simply repeated the ones ascribed to those speakers in their Basque and Castilian guises, or introduced new elements of evaluation.

7.3.2 Administration

Students from a Primary School and an Instituto in each of the four villages were asked to take part in an experiment on how people are perceived by others merely from

5. Cf. Cheyne, W. M. (1970) ; Milroy, L. and McClenaghan, P. (1977) ; Bennet, K. (1982) ; etc.

6. Model of Questionnaire and text in Appendix 7a and 7b.

listening to them.

The students in each centre were contacted through their teachers and were requested to participate in the exercise voluntarily. Most of the students in the forms selected agreed willingly since the questionnaires would be administered during regular class periods. (Only 5 questionnaires out of the 241 handed out had to be discarded because of incomplete information.)

Of the two age groups used in this study, the younger group was formed of subjects whose age was a little over 12, and the older group was made up of students in their last year at the Institutos and whose age would be approximately just over 17.

The same instructions and explanations which had been given to the subjects in the Pilot Study were offered on this occasion. However, as the length of the exercise had been increased, a small break was given to both groups after the 11th passage and not only to the younger group as in the Pilot Study. During this the subjects were requested not to exchange information about the task, but wait until the end, when a discussion would be held and any questions that might arise would be answered.

As in the Pilot Study, the rhythm of the work was increased after the first sheets were completed. Not only were answers given more quickly, but the impressions of the speakers were more vividly and easily formed by contrast with the ones already rated.

In the discussions following the Questionnaire exercise subjects centered on the discovery of the extent to which they relied on speech in evaluating speakers and the amazement some showed at the degree of certainty with which they had expressed their opinions.

Answers in the Comments Section and the discussions after the questionnaire completion showed that overall the subjects had a favourable reaction to the task although some felt it was desirable to shorten the exercise by reducing the number of speakers to be evaluated.

7.4 Results and Discussion

7.4.1 Background

7.4.1.1 Sex and age

Table 27 shows the composition of the groups and their average age.

Table 27 : Age and Sex

	Boys				Girls				
	Younger Group		Older Group		Younger Group		Older Group		
	N°	Age	N°	Age	N°	Age	N°	Age	
BDO	16	11.8	13	16.5	16	11.7	13	17.5	= 58
BAL	16	12.5	14	17.5	15	12.5	14	17.5	= 59
GER	16	12.6	13	17.6	17	12.6	17	17.6	= 63
IGOR	14	12.5	14	17.6	15	12.4	13	17.5	= 56
TOTAL	62		54		63		57		= 236

The groups are fairly similar with respect to numbers of boys and girls. They are also balanced in regard to age

with two exceptions: in Barakaldo, the 12 year old group is more than 6 months younger than their counterparts in the other three villages, while the older boys are a year younger than the girls although they are in the same form.

7.4.1.2 Birthplace

Information on the birthplace of the subjects revealed the following:

Table 28 : Birthplace

	BARAKALDO		BALMASEDA		GERNIKA		IGORRE		TOTAL	
	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	°	%
Village	37	63.8	23	39.0	50	79.4	23	41.1	= 133	56.4
County	9	15.5	29	49.1	6	9.5	25	44.6	= 69	29.2
Others	12	20.7	7	11.9	7	11.1	8	14.3	= 34	14.4
TOTAL	58		59		63		56		= 236	

The total number of subjects not born in the county of Bizkaia is only 14.4% of the overall total. However, both Balmaseda and Igorre have comparatively high figures for subjects born outside the village. A possible explanation for this may lie in the size of the two villages. Their institutos serve areas wider than the village itself. By contrast, those Institutos in Barakaldo and Gernika used in the study are situated in villages where the school population is high. There are, therefore, more Institutos serving the area so students are drawn more from the immediate vicinity than outside the village itself.

7.4.1.3 Liking of languages

The results for appreciation of studying languages are presented in Table 29.

Table 29 : Attitude towards studying modern languages.
(Percentages in each sub-group)

		YES	NO	NO ANSWER
BARAKALDO	Younger Male	86.6	13.4	12.5
	Younger Female	87.5		
	Older Male	50.0	50.0	
	Older Female	92.3	7.7	
BALMASEDA	Younger Male	87.5	12.5	7.0
	Younger Female	86.6	13.4	
	Older Male	73.3	26.7	
	Older Female	71.5	21.5	
GERNIKA	Younger Male	93.7		6.3
	Younger Female	100.0		
	Older Male	69.2	30.8	
	Older Female	94.1	5.9	
IGORRE	Younger Male	57.1	42.9	15.4
	Younger Female	73.3	26.7	
	Older Male	71.4	28.6	
	Older Female	61.5	23.1	

The results point to a general majority of subjects liking modern languages although the figures vary. However, there is no consistent pattern to be inferred, such as the younger group being more keen. Although the figures in three villages support this statement, the group of younger boys in Igorre is the exception to it.

In some cases the girls tend to favour the study of languages more but again it is not a consistent trend with all the groups.

7.4.1.4 Languages thought beautiful

The answers to the section in which the subjects were asked which three languages they thought the most beautiful to speak are summarized in Table 30.

Table 30 : Languages thought beautiful

(Percentages in each village)

	BARAKALDO			BALMASEDA			GERNIKA			IGORRE		
	I	II	III*	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Castilian	22.5	21.0	0.0	15.0	5.0	6.7	4.8	12.7	12.7	0.0	12.6	21.4
English	32.2	21.0	27.5	21.6	25.0	26.6	25.4	38.0	20.7	7.2	34.0	0.0
Euskera	16.1	16.1	0.0	28.4	25.0	11.7	52.4	12.7		48.2	7.1	7.2
French	14.6	16.1	24.1	28.4	28.4	11.7	12.6	12.7	19.0	12.6	25.0	16.0
German	0.0	8.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	10.0		4.8	14.3		7.1	12.5
Italian		4.8	14.5	5.0	3.3	10.0		12.7		14.2	7.1	7.2
Others	14.6	13.0	25.9	1.6	13.3	23.3	4.8	6.4	33.3	17.8	7.1	35.7

*I, II, III = 1st, 2nd and 3rd choice with the highest frequency counts

The first result to comment on is the number of subjects from Gernika and Igorre who choose Euskera as their first choice for a beautiful language. It is worth remembering that these two villages are situated in an area with a high percentage of Euskera speakers, and therefore their choice could be seen as a case of appraisal or commitment to their speech community. In the other two villages, the choice is equally divided between Euskera and French in the case of Balmaseda. Whereas English has been chosen by almost a third of the subjects in Barakaldo.

In respect of the second choice, the two villages from the Bascophone area show a similar pattern choosing English while the other two opt once more for different languages. Castilian and English are the most frequent choices in Barakaldo, while subjects from Balmaseda choose French. The latter village is the only one where French appears as top first or second choice.

7.4.1.5 Languages thought useful to speak

The following shows the answers to the question on usefulness (Table 31).

Table 31 : Languages thought useful.

(Percentages in each village)

	BARAKALDO			BALMASEDA			GERNIKA			IGORRE		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Castilian	20.9	22.5	25.9	11.6	25.0	25.0	11.2	34.9	20.6	12.5	17.9	14.2
English	67.7	22.5	9.6	66.6			71.4	17.5	8.0	48.2	39.2	12.5
Euskera	9.7	12.9		8.3	10.0	10.0	15.8	12.6	12.6	35.7	17.9	-
French	-	30.6	32.3	10.0	30.0	30.0		30.2	35.0	3.6	16.0	34.0
German		4.8	11.3		11.6	11.6			8.0		9.0	23.3
Italian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1.7	6.4	20.9	3.3	23.4	23.4	1.6	4.8	15.8			16.0

The first comment on the results is that they follow a different pattern from the previous section. There is far more consensus on 'usefulness' than on 'beauty'. The subjects from all the groups agree on ranking English for their first choice as most useful, even if they have different

percentages ranging from 71.4% in Gernika to 48.2% in Igorre.

The answers diverge in their other choices. Barakaldo and Balmaseda place French in the second and third places but Gernika and Igorre choose it as their third option. For the second option Gernika considers Castilian slightly more useful than French and Igorre repeats its first choice of English.

It is worth mentioning, in the case of Igorre, that more than a third of first choices consider Euskera useful, an answer not paralleled in the other groups.

7.4.1.6 Euskera difficult

The next section of the questionnaire was especially designed to deal with aspects directly related to the Basque language, Euskera. The first part of this section asked about the difficulty of the language as perceived by the subjects (Table 32).

The first result requiring comment is that exactly the same number of subjects think Euskera to be difficult as the ones who think the opposite. It is only when the results are analysed in sub-groups that the answers offer more information.

Roughly one third of subjects from the villages with a large number of Euskera speakers think the language difficult to learn, while two thirds of those from the two villages where Euskera is hardly spoken think it is. Possible explanations for this expected mirror image can be

factors like the degree of knowledge of the language and familiarity with it and among others, language loyalty which leads to minimizing difficulty.

Table 32 : Euskera difficult

(Percentages in each village)

		YES	NO	NO ANSWER
BARAKALDO	Younger Male	11.2	13.0	
	Younger Female	11.2	13.0	1.6
	Older Male	21.0	8.0	
	Older Female	17.8	1.6	1.6
	Total	61.2	35.6	3.2
BALMAEDA	Younger Male	21.7	5.0	
	Younger Female	18.4	6.7	
	Older Male	13.3	11.6	
	Older Female	20.0	3.3	
	Total	73.4	26.6	
GERNIKA	Younger Male	8.0	17.7	
	Younger Female	4.8	21.0	
	Older Male	6.5	14.5	
	Older Female	11.3	16.2	
	Total	30.6	69.4	
IGORRE	Younger Male	5.5	20.0	
	Younger Female	14.6	9.1	
	Older Male	9.1	14.5	
	Older Female	1.8	23.6	1.8
	Total	31.0	67.2	1.8
	TOTAL	49.8	49.8	1.2

7.4.1.7 Difficulty and study of Euskera

It might prove more interesting to explore whether a sense of difficulty might deter the subjects from taking up the study of Euskera. The answers to this question are summarized in Table 33.

Table 33 : Difficulty and Study of Euskera

(Percentages of total)*

		LEARN EUSKERA		
		YES	NO	
Difficulty	YES	50.8	8.6	59.4
	NO	38.3	2.3	40.6
	TOTAL	89.1	10.9	100.0

Answers to the question "If you don't speak Euskera, would you like to learn it?" show that an overwhelming majority of subjects who answered state that they would like to learn Euskera. However, it should be noted that the number of subjects who did not answer this question is high. Nevertheless, when looking at the section of knowledge of Euskera, it is roughly the same number of students who also rate their knowledge of Euskera as 'Fluent' or 'Very Good'. Therefore, it is possible that those who omitted their answers in this section are precisely the ones who consider that they already do speak the language, so the question does not apply to them.

The surprising point about the overall result is that the acknowledged difficulty of the study of the language

* No Answer : 27.3%

does not prevent the subjects from answering positively about the desire to learn it.

Information of use in attempting to establish the background to this study is the extent to which the subjects judge themselves to be proficient in Euskera. That is to say, how much they think they know and how well they think they can function in the different skills. Table 34 shows the results of this self-assessment.

Table 34 : Self-report of knowledge of Euskera.

(Percentages in each village)

		0*	1	2	3	4	5	
Under- standing	Barakaldo	37.1	32.3	24.2	1.6	3.2	1.6	100
	Balmaseda	35.0	48.3	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
	Gernika	3.2	17.5	7.9	27.0	28.6	15.0	100
	Igorre	1.8	7.1	19.6	32.1	26.8	12.6	100
Speaking	Barakaldo	61.3	24.2	12.9	1.6	0.0	0.0	100
	Balmaseda	80.0	13.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
	Gernika	24.2	9.7	6.5	37.1	17.7	4.8	100
	Igorre	9.1	14.5	18.2	38.2	18.2	1.8	100
Reading	Barakaldo	62.9	14.5	9.7	3.2	0.0	0.0	100
	Balmaseda	80.0	10.0	8.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	100
	Gernika	17.4	14.3	27.0	27.0	14.3	0.0	100
	Igorre	12.7	12.7	36.4	23.6	10.9	3.7	100
Writing	Barakaldo	66.1	17.7	8.2	4.8	1.6	1.6	100
	Balmaseda	80.0	8.3	11.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
	Gernika	9.5	19.0	27.0	27.0	12.7	4.8	100
	Igorre	14.5	14.5	27.3	23.6	14.5	5.6	100

*0 = Not At All; 1 = Very Little; 2 = A Little; 3 = Average;
4 = A Lot; 5 = Fluently.

When considering 'Understanding' nearly all ratings in Barakaldo and Balmaseda are found between 'Not At All' and 'A Little'. In the case of Barakaldo only 6.4% rate themselves better than 'A Little', while no one in Balmaseda did this.

However, in the other two villages, more than 70% of subjects rate themselves as 'Average' or better, as was expected.

In respect of 'Speaking', the skill was rated following the same pattern as 'Understanding', though not quite so high on the scale. Thus, the answers from Barakaldo and Balmaseda cluster at the bottom of the ranking scale, with between 60% and 80% non-speakers, while the answers of Gernika and Igorre tend to spread more with well above 50% of subjects indicating that their knowledge is 'Average' or higher.

In rating 'Reading' Barakaldo and Balmaseda repeat the pattern of getting the highest frequencies with the lowest ratings, but in Gernika and Igorre only around 40% of answers are in the 'Average' or above options.

The figures for self-assessment on 'Writing' are similar to those for reading in all four villages. Not only does this happen in the two villages with low figures of Basque speakers, but even in the two villages which had rendered higher figures in the other three skills. The figures decline in both cases to below 45% of their total numbers.

This pattern of discrepancy between understanding and speaking and the other two skills^o confirms the expectation

of finding lower figures of Basque speakers literate in Basque. However, the number of cases who report themselves as being able to read and write with various degrees of proficiency is higher than in the SIADECO Report quoted in the Pilot Study⁷. The explanation offered there may be valid here too. The questionnaires in this main study were only completed by subjects attending schools and Institutos with ages ranging from 12 to around 18 years. The previous report drew its information from a much wider population with samples from the whole age range, where the older generation might present a different image: fluent speakers but illiterate in Euskera.

7.4.1.8 Knowledge of Euskera and aesthetic or instrumental perception

A possible association between the rating of knowledge self-reported by the subjects and their ranking of Euskera in the first place as beautiful or useful was examined. The results were as follows:

- Out of the 87 subjects who had opted for Euskera as most beautiful, 57.5% of them rated themselves 10 points or below out of a total of 20, in their proficiency (understanding, speaking, etc.) of Euskera.
- Only 41 subjects had selected Euskera as most useful in their first choice. Of these, 51.2% considered that their command of Euskera was above 10 points.

7. Cf. Chapter 6.4.1.3, p. 163

Therefore, there seems to be a slightly different situation in both options. In an 'aesthetic' appraisal the degree of knowledge does not seem to impede the selection. In respect of instrumentality, although the total number is rather small, there is a slightly higher percentage of cases who both find Euskera useful and are fairly proficient. It would be enlightening, before attempting to advance any explanation for this, to know whether the group which considers Euskera useful and rate themselves low in their proficiency are in the process of learning the language. If that were the case the interpretation would be different altogether, impinging on the motivational aspect.

7.4.1.9 Summing up

The information gathered in this first part of the questionnaire could be summed up in the following points:

- The groups of subjects are well balanced with respect to numbers of boys and girls and also to age, with the exception of one village. Almost all the subjects were born in the county.
- The study of modern languages is in general well-liked and there is far more agreement among the subjects in choosing English as the most useful language to study than for finding the most beautiful one. Here there are two different choices: the subjects from the Bascophone area choose Euskera and the ones from the other two villages not only spread their scores more widely but choose a foreign language rather than Castilian as most beautiful.

- The opinions about Euskera being difficult are balanced but acknowledged difficulty does not prevent subjects from expressing their willingness to take up its study.
- The self-assessment of their knowledge of Euskera by the subjects only confirms the division of the four villages into two different sections of the community with high and low numbers of Basque speakers. The gaps between understanding and speaking the language and the other two skills are evident, although because of the composition of the group - teenagers attending Primary and Secondary schools - higher figures for literacy are found than in the whole population.
- Finally, as for a possible relationship between degree of knowledge and aesthetic or instrumental appreciation of the language, the figures are not very conclusive, although a weak knowledge of Euskera is no obstacle to perceiving it as 'beautiful', while a slightly higher proportion of subjects, having rated themselves as more proficient, consider it 'useful'.

7.4.2 Quality appraisal

The purpose of this section (Appendix 7a, B) on quality appraisal was to get an 'instrument' of measurement which was as 'idiosyncratic' to the group under study as possible. Different groups may differ in their evaluative assessments, therefore it may be advisable to try and gather, if possible, their own terms of reference of what they thought was valuable, dislikeable, etc. Once this information was

obtained, the next part of the exercise could be interpreted in a more useful way.

The results of this section of the questionnaire will be first examined and then compared with those obtained in the Pilot Study.

The analysis of the results was carried out in a dual way:

- First, isolated qualities were examined. They were analysed in the order they had been written down (1st, 2nd and 3rd choices). The three qualities with the highest percentages were mentioned for each ranking place. If in any of the choices there was a tie, the two qualities selected by the same percentage of people were included.
- Secondly, in order to cluster the results, the answers were analysed according to more general areas of personality⁸. The results in this second part parallel to a certain extent, those given for individual qualities in the previous part, but they present more complete information, since they take into account all the answers for each section, and not just the top three choices.

8. As qualities in other studies had been clustered slightly differently into areas of COMPETENCE, BENEVOLENCE and SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS, three of these other classifications will be mentioned as a comparison for the one adopted for the present study. They are included in Appendix 8, together with the whole list of qualities offered by the subjects grouped into the three above mentioned areas. Out of the total of 98 different adjectives, 39% correspond to COMPETENCE, 20% to BENEVOLENCE, 31% to SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS and 10% to OTHERS.

The classification used for a later section of the questionnaire - a 22 item quality list offered for rating to the subjects - is also included with these adjectives divided into the three areas mentioned above.

The choice of adjectives was translated into English. However, even if some explanations will be offered with specific terms, there is always the risk of missing relevant information not only in 'conceptual' terms but more often than not in 'affective' terms. This danger of failing to offer the 'exact' correspondence might lead to somewhat divergent conclusions, provoked by all the connotations attached to the original word by the subjects in their answers. There were not always the exact equivalent in both the connotative and emotional areas to the version offered to facilitate the discussion.

Therefore, the results will not appear as in the original answers but translated along the same lines discussed in Chapter 4, and comments of some possible interpretations of the term will be added when there is no exact corresponding translation of the term.

Table 35 summarizes the results of choices of qualities liked in people (Appendix 7a, B-1) made by all the subjects. The choices are clearly centered around qualities related to 'Benevolence' or 'Integrity'⁹ - as this cluster is labelled in some studies (Preston, 1963; Lambert et al., 1966) - and 'Social Attractiveness'. In all positions 'Competence' is the least mentioned and there is only one quality from this group, 'Intelligence', that has been included.

9. Cf. Preston, M. S. (1963) : 'Evaluational reactions to English Canadian French and European French voices' - M.A. Thesis, McGill University.

Table 35 : Qualities liked in people

(Percentages of all subjects)

I	II	III		
1. True (22.0)	Kind (13.7)	Likeable (12.9)		
2. Kind (14.9)	Likeable (12.0)	Kind (10.4)		
3. Likeable (14.1)	Intelligent/ True (7.1)	Sociable		
	I	II	III	
	COMPETENCE	19.1	23.9	22.3
	BENEVOLENCE	45.2	36.6	30.4
	SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS	26.8	32.6	37.4
	OTHERS	5.2	2.3	2.9
	NO ANSWER	3.7	4.6	7.0

Table 36 presents the 'dislikings' of the subjects'. Surprisingly this section (Appendix 7a, B-2) is not made up of antonyms or opposites to the previous one. There is even a change of general areas of personality and 'Competence', or better, lack of it, seems to be more salient in the minds of the subjects than is the case in relation to their likings. Although isolated qualities, some of which are related to 'Benevolence', still come top of the rankings for the first two choices, qualities related to 'Competence' are more in evidence. This shift is also found in the general areas.

Table 36 : Qualities disliked in people

(Percentages of all subjects)

I	II	III	
1. False (18.7)	False (7.9)	Conceited (8.7)	
2. Selfish (12.0)	Conceited (7.1)	Selfish (7.5)	
3. Conceited (10.8)	Dislikeable (5.4)	False (7.1)	
COMPETENCE BENEVOLENCE SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS OTHERS NO ANSWER	I	II	III
	32.0	30.1	33.9
	36.8	25.8	26.6
	19.4	26.1	20.8
	4.3	3.0	1.7
	7.5	15.0	17.0

In Table 37 the results shown sum up the qualities considered necessary to be successful (Appendix 7a, B-3). With varying degrees of agreement, the same quality 'Intelligence' is repeated in all three choices, and 'Competence' is by far the one preferred when it comes to groups of qualities.

Table 37 : Qualities needed for success¹⁰.

(Percentages of all subjects)

I	II	III	
1. Intelligent (16.6)	Intelligent (15.4)	Intelligent (9.1)	
2. Kind (14.5)	Kind (7.9)	Sociable (6.2)	
3. Likeable (10.0)	Likeable (7.5)	Likeable/ Rich (5.8)	
	I	II	III
	46.5	43.4	40.0
	20.5	17.7	16.7
	23.0	25.2	22.8
	1.0	0.9	3.5
	9.0	12.8	17.0

Finally, in Table 38, the answers to the question on qualities associated with the 'Basque character' (Appendix 7a, B-4) are given. The first noticeable result is the increase in missing answers. This section was included as an experiment to observe whether direct questions would elicit - or not - the same kind of answers as indirect questions, and it seems that, as expected, a number of subjects declined to give information. The percentages agreeing on choice of qualities are much lower than in the previous sections, but qualities of competence form the largest group in all three choices.

10. Cf. Lambert et al. (1960) 'Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages', p. 48.

Table 38 : Qualities associated with the Basque character

(Percentages of all subjects)

I	II	III	
1. Hard/Independent (8.7)	Strong (8.7)	Kind (7.1)	
2. Strong (7.5)	Hardworking (6.2)	Independent (5.8)	
3. Likeable (5.0)	Hard/Independent/Kind (4.1)	Hardworking (5.4)	
	I	II	III
COMPETENCE	43.2	39.3	30.3
BENEVOLENCE	12.9	14.9	17.5
SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS	16.9	17.5	20.3
OTHERS	1.7	2.5	2.0
NO ANSWER	25.3	25.8	29.9

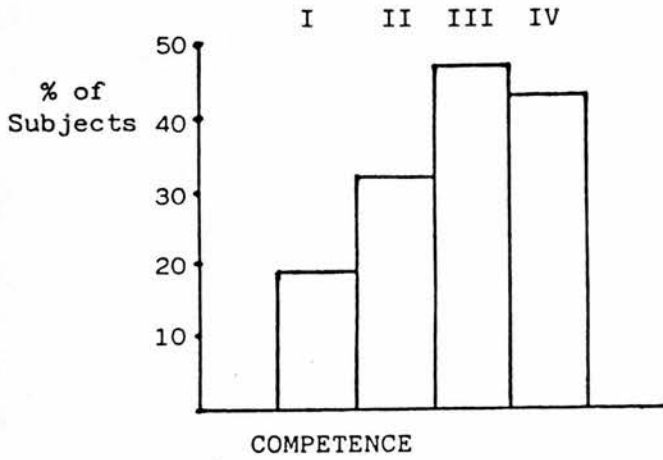
Briefly, the results of the four sections seem to indicate a preference in likings for qualities related to 'Benevolence'; in dislikings for 'Benevolence' and 'Competence' and for those related to 'Competence' as qualities necessary for success. There are less definite opinions on those associated with the Basque character although the highest scores are those to do with 'Competence' (Graph 1).

When these results are compared with those of the Pilot Study, they are found to follow the same trend in selection of areas for the top ranking position. As the results were not obtained in the same way for the general appreciation - one more answer was requested for the first three sections, and there was no mention of those related to the Basque character - it is not possible to establish any further comparison.

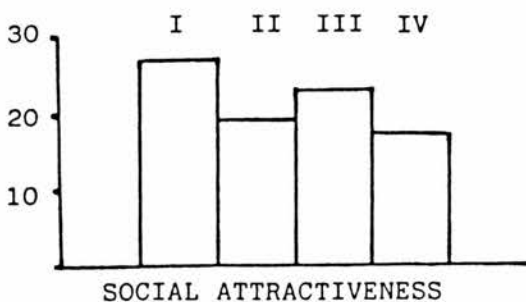
Following the work of the Pilot Study, the next step was to analyse any possible differences in all four villages.

Graph 1

Summary of areas of personality chosen for qualities liked, disliked, thought to be necessary for success, and associated with the 'Basque character'. (First choices only).



I : Qualities liked
 II : Qualities disliked
 III : Qualities necessary
 for success
 IV : Qualities associated
 with the "Basque
 character"



In order not to increase the number of items in the tables excessively, only the choice with the highest percentage in each of the three places will be included.

In Table 39 the results of qualities liked in people according to the four different villages are presented.

Table 39 : Qualities liked in people

(Percentages in the four villages)

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
I	Kind/True/ Likeable (16.1) (m.c. = 4.8)	True (25.0) (m.c. = 3.3)	True (27.0) (m.c. = 6.3)	Kind (21.4) (m.c. = 0.0)
II	Kind/ Likeable (12.9) (m.c. = 6.5)	Likeable (m.c. = 8.3)	Kind (23.8) (m.c. = 1.6)	Likeable (17.9) (m.c. = 1.8)
III	Likeable (17.7) (m.c. = 6.5)	Sociable/ Likeable (10.0) (m.c. = 8.3)	Likeable (15.9) (m.c. = 4.8)	Kind (16.1) (m.c. = 8.9)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BDO	19.3 20.9 22.5	40.3 42.0 25.8	27.4 27.3 45.2	8.2 3.3 0.0
BAL	26.7 31.7 26.7	46.7 31.7 35.0	16.7 26.7 26.7	6.6 1.5 3.3
GER	16.0 14.4 22.3	49.3 47.6 30.0	25.4 33.3 41.4	3.0 3.1 1.5
IGO	14.4 30.0 18.0	44.6 23.2 30.0	39.4 44.7 35.7	1.6 0.0 7.1

*m.c. = Missing cases.

BDO = Barakaldo; BAL = Balmaseda; GER = Gernika; IGO = Igorre.

The group of qualities that appears as top choice in all villages is Benevolence. Looking at the individual qualities the same choices are found but they do not appear in the same ranking order.

In the next table the answers given by the different villages to the question on what they disliked in people are shown.

Table 40 : Qualities disliked in people

(Percentages in the four villages)

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
I	False (19.4) *(m.c. = 9.7)	False (21.7) (m.c. = 5.0)	False (22.2) (m.c. = 1.6)	Conceited (16.1) (m.c.= 14.3)
II	Earnest/ Dislikeable (11.3) (m.c. = 11.3)	Selfish/ Conceited/ Rude (8.3) (m.c. = 8.3)	Conceited (11.1) (m.c. = 15.9)	Conceited (8.9) (m.c.= 25.0)
III	False (9.7) (m.c. = 9.7)	Conceited (13.3) (m.c. = 5.0)	Conceited (15.9) (m.c. = 17.5)	Stupid/ Dislikeable (7.1) (m.c.= 37.5)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BDO	32.2 32.2 33.8	34.0 27.5 32.4	19.3 25.7 20.8	4.8 3.3 3.3
BAL	30.1 26.8 48.4	41.8 31.6 18.3	15.1 30.0 25.0	8.0 3.3 3.3
GER	28.6 35.0 28.5	50.8 25.3 38.0	19.0 23.8 16.0	0.0 0.0 0.0
IGO	37.5 26.9 25.1	19.6 18.0 16.0	25.1 25.0 21.4	3.5 5.1 0.0

*m.c. = Missing cases.

BDO = Barakaldo; BAL = Balmaseda; GER = Gernika; IGO = Igorre.

In the general section the results were divided between 'Benevolence' and 'Competence'. That pattern is explained here in the variation of choice in one village. The subjects in Igorre rate Competence traits more highly in all three choices. There are two qualities which are persistently selected 'False/Untrue/Dishonest...' and 'Proud/Conceited...'.

Table 41 presents the results of the section on qualities needed to be successful.

Table 41 : Qualities needed to be successful

(Percentages in the four villages)

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
I	Intelligent (24.2) *(m.c.= 17.7)	Intelligent/ Kind (13.3) (m.c. = 6.7)	Intelligent (20.6) (m.c. = 3.2)	Kind (21.4) (m.c. = 8.9)
II	Intelligent (11.3) (m.c. = 21.0)	Intelligent (13.3) (m.c. = 3.3)	Intelligent/ Kind (11.1) (m.c. = 12.7)	Intelligent (26.8) (m.c.= 14.3)
III	Generous/ Likeable (6.5) (m.c.= 19.4)	Good (8.3) (m.c.= 15.0)	Intelligent (20.6) (m.c. = 7.9)	Likeable (8.9) (m.c.= 26.8)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT.	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BDO	45.0 38.6 33.6	16.1 13.0 17.8	21.2 25.8 25.8	0.0 1.6 3.4
BAL	46.6 45.1 33.3	18.3 18.3 16.6	26.7 31.6 26.8	1.7 1.7 8.3
GER	55.5 46.0 57.2	23.9 23.9 19.1	17.4 17.4 15.8	0.0 0.0 0.0
IGO	39.3 44.8 35.9	23.2 14.3 12.2	26.8 26.6 23.3	1.8 0.0 1.8

*m.c. = Missing cases.

BDO = Barakaldo; BAL = Balmaseda; GER = Gernika; IGO = Igorre.

This table shows that the general trend is towards 'Competence'. However, two of the villages - like one in the previous section - diverge from the results of the other two groups. In Igorre the percentage for the area of 'Competence' is not any lower but 'Kind' rather than 'Intelligent' was selected by the majority in first ranking position. In the second village, Balmaseda, the results were equally divided in this position between 'Intelligent' and 'Kind'.

The results shown in the next table were expected to elicit more divergent information from the different villages, since they correspond to the answers on the question of Qualities associated with the Basque character.

Table 42 : Qualities associated with the Basque character
(Percentages in the four villages)

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
I	Independent (8.1) *(m.c.= 43.5)	Independent (15.0) (m.c. = 25.0)	Hard (15.9) (m.c. = 7.9)	Hard (10.7) (m.c.= 25.0)
II	Hard working (6.5) (m.c.= 38.7)	Independent (8.3) (m.c. = 30.0)	Hard working (14.3) (m.c. = 4.8)	Strong (10.7) (m.c.= 30.4)
III	Independent (8.1) (m.c.= 43.5)	Independent (8.3) (m.c. = 25.0)	Kind (7.9) (m.c. 19.0)	Kind/ Likeable (10.7) (m.c.= 32.1)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT.	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BDO	29.0 33.7 24.3	9.7 17.6 16.0	12.9 8.2 14.5	4.9 1.8 1.7
BAL	43.4 36.7 41.5	11.6 11.7 13.4	18.5 18.3 16.7	1.5 3.3 3.4
GER	62.0 51.0 31.9	15.8 17.4 23.9	14.3 25.4 22.2	0.0 1.4 3.2
IGO	37.6 35.6 23.3	14.4 9.0 16.1	23.0 18.0 28.5	0.0 7.0 0.0

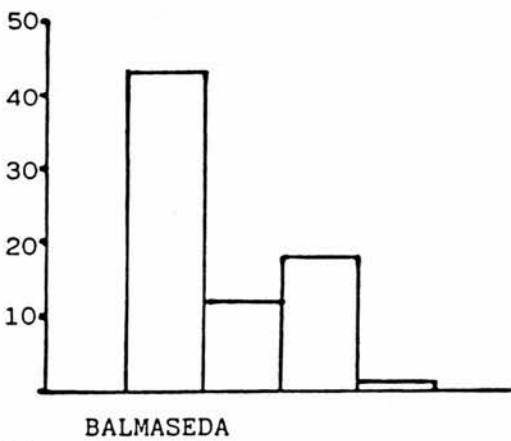
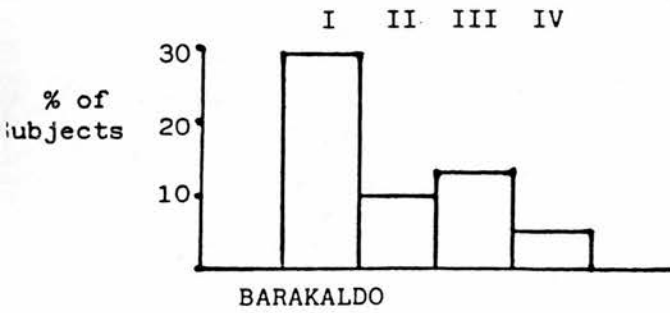
*m.c. = Missing cases.

BDO = Barakaldo; BAL = Balmaseda; GER = Gernika; IGO = Igorre.

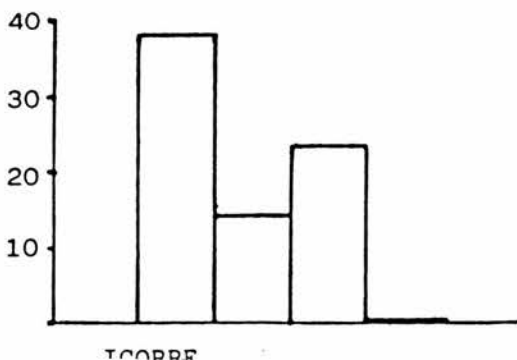
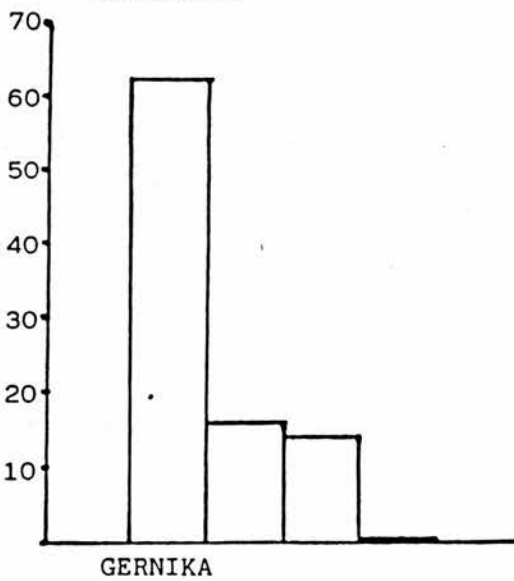
The results in this case are divided for the first ranking place into two options, 'Independent' chosen by the cases from the two villages with less Euskera speakers, and 'Hard/Enduring/Resilient ...' by those with a higher number of Euskera speakers.

Graph 2

Areas of personality associated with the 'Basque character' in the four villages. (First choices).



I : COMPETENCE
 II : BENEVOLENCE
 III : SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS
 IV : Others



In respect of areas of personality (Graph 2) Competence was generally selected in all villages although with different percentages, followed by Social Attractiveness.

In the following tables the results are analysed after division into categories of sex and age, to investigate whether these variables would cause any divergence in the results. The aim was to look at main effects rather than interactions. Therefore, the answers are studied separately in these two divisions.

Table 43 offers the results to the section on Likings.

Table 43 : Qualities liked in people according to sex and age

(Percentages in each group)

	GIRLS	BOYS
I	True (25.4) Likeable (17.2) Kind (16.4)	True (18.5) Kind (13.4) Likeable (10.9)
II	Kind (15.6) Likeable (12.3) True (9.0)	Kind/Likeable (11.8) *
III	Likeable (14.8) Sociable (11.5) Kind (9.0)	Kind (11.8) Likeable (10.9) Intelligent (8.4)
	YOUNGER GROUP	OLDER GROUP
I	Kind (21.9) Likeable (19.0) True (11.4)	True (36.5) Kind (9.4) Intelligent/ Likeable (7.3)
II	Kind (20.0) Likeable (15.2) Generous (8.6)	Loyal (10.4) Kind/True/ Likeable (9.4)
III	Likeable (18.1) Sociable (13.3) Generous (9.5)	Kind (12.5) True/Loyal (7.3)

* only results above 5% are included in the table.

The answers for isolated qualities reflect more similarity between sex and greater divergence across age groups. The older group consistently gives qualities related to Truthfulness while the younger ones put more emphasis on Kindness and Sociability. This trend is more clearly reflected in the section on areas of personality.

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT.		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
GIRLS	15.5	25.1	20.5	51.6	39.4	31.9	29.4	32.8	38.5
BOYS	22.6	22.7	24.2	38.6	33.6	28.6	24.2	32.7	35.9
YOUNGER	12.5	19.4	14.5	42.0	36.4	25.9	36.4	40.1	48.6
OLDER	21.8	26.8	29.1	55.2	39.6	37.5	16.5	27.0	25.9
	OTHERS			NO ANSWER					
	I	II	III	I	II	III			
GIRLS	0.0	0.8	2.4	3.3	1.6	6.6			
BOYS	10.0	3.3	3.3	4.2	7.6	7.6			
YOUNGER	6.7	2.0	2.9	2.9	2.9	8.6			
OLDER	4.1	2.1	3.1	2.1	4.2	4.2			

The older group is consistent in their selection of qualities from the Benevolence area, while the younger ones move from Benevolence to Social Attractiveness. The pattern of choice between boys and girls is paralleled, although the boys tend to spread their answers more across the three sections.

Table 44 : Qualities disliked in people according to sex and age

(Percentages in each group)

	GIRLS	BOYS
I	False (27.0) Proud (10.7) Dislikeable (9.8)	Selfish (17.16) Proud (10.9) False (10.1)
II	Proud/False (8.2) Intransigent/ Dislikeable (6.6)	Proud (7.6) False (5.9) *
III	Proud (10.7) Selfish (8.2) False (6.6)	False (7.6) Hard/Proud/ Selfish (6.7)
	YOUNGER GROUP	OLDER GROUP
I	Selfish/ Dislikeable (12.4) No Humour (9.5)	False (26.0) Proud/Conceited (18.8) Selfish (11.5)
II	Dislikeable (8.6) Proud/Conceited (6.7)	False (11.5) Selfish (8.3) Proud/Intransigent (7.3)
III	Dislikeable (7.6) Proud/Conceited (6.7) Ambitious/Hard (5.7)	Selfish/False (10.4) Proud/Conceited (9.4)

* only results about 5% are included in the table.

As in the previous section, age seems to cause more variation than sex in the choice of isolated qualities. The older group is consistent with their previous choice and lack of truthfulness is given as first choice, while the younger ones persist in their option of Dislikeable. Both groups share a dislike of Selfishness and Conceit although with different rates of agreement. Girls and boys basically agree in their three choices of qualities although they allocate them different priorities of choice.

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT.		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
GIRLS	30.3	25.3	32.7	37.6	28.6	25.3	20.4	24.5	22.8
BOYS	33.5	35.1	35.1	36.0	22.5	27.6	18.2	27.4	18.3
YOUNGER	30.7	26.9	33.6	25.8	22.1	22.2	27.8	35.6	27.8
OLDER	33.2	26.8	32.0	45.8	35.4	31.2	13.3	18.8	14.3
	OTHERS			NO ANSWER					
	I	II	III	I	II	III			
GIRLS	2.5	1.6	0.0	9.0	19.7	18.9			
BOYS	5.9	4.2	3.3	5.9	10.1	15.1			
YOUNGER	6.7	2.9	1.0	9.5	12.4	16.2			
OLDER	2.1	3.1	2.0	5.2	15.6	19.8			

The trend for the areas is not as compact as in Likings. The younger group divide their choices between Competence and Social Attractiveness while the older one repeat their option of qualities related to Benevolence, although with less agreement than before. In respect of difference in choice between boys and girls, it is the former who seem to pull the results towards the area of Competence and the girls who maintain their option on Benevolence to a greater extent, although as has already been mentioned, the results are more widespread across areas and the differences reduced.

Table 45 : Qualities necessary for success according to sex and age

(Percentages in each group)

	GIRLS	BOYS
I	Intelligent (17.2) Kind (15.6) Likeable (13.1)	Intelligent (16.0) Kind (13.4) Enterprising/ Likeable (6.7)
II	Intelligent (16.4) Hard working (9.8) Likeable (8.2)	Intelligent (14.3) Self-confident/ Likeable (6.7)
III	Intelligent (7.4) Sociable (6.6)	Intelligent (10.9) Rich (6.7)
	YOUNGER GROUP	OLDER GROUP
I	Kind (20.0) Intelligent (13.3) Likeable/Beautiful (9.5)	Intelligent (19.8) Extrovert (10.4) With Personality/ Enterprising (9.4)
II	Intelligent (16.2) Kind (15.2) Likeable (13.3)	Intelligent (16.2) Self-confident (11.5) *
III	Intelligent (11.4) Likeable (9.5) Generous/Sociable (7.6)	Intelligent (8.3) Self-confident (7.3) True/Sociable (6.3)

* only results above 5% are included in the table.

The answers to this question seem to obtain invariable agreement as to Intelligence being necessary for success, with the exception of the younger group who prefer Kind in their first choice. The difference between age groups seems to lie more in the qualities accompanying Intelligence, the younger ones complementing their choice with some related to Kindness and Likeability, and the older ones selecting qualities related to determination and drive.

There seems to be no great difference in choice of isolated qualities between boys and girls.

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT.		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
GIRLS	47.4	46.7	42.5	20.4	22.0	15.4	25.4	22.1	24.6
BOYS	46.0	40.2	37.6	20.0	12.6	17.6	20.0	26.8	20.8
YOUNGER	32.6	32.6	31.6	28.6	23.0	18.3	28.5	30.7	28.7
OLDER	60.2	59.3	49.8	10.3	8.2	12.5	16.5	17.8	14.5
	OTHERS			NO ANSWER					
	I	II	III	I	II	III			
GIRLS	0.8	0.8	4.1	5.7	7.4	13.1			
BOYS	0.8	0.8	2.5	12.6	18.5	21.0			
YOUNGER	1.9	1.9	5.7	8.6	12.5	16.2			
OLDER	0.0	0.0	1.0	9.4	14.6	21.9			

When considering areas, both sex groups agree in their choice of Competence, although the girls reach slightly higher rates. This difference is particularly noticeable when comparing the percentages between age groups. The results of the older one are one and a half to two times the percentages selected by the younger ones. Consequently, the older group attach less importance in their answers to the selections on Benevolence and Social Attractiveness than the younger ones do.

Table 46 : Qualities related to the Basque character according to sex and age

(Percentages in each group)

	GIRLS	BOYS
I	No Answer (23.0) Hard/Independent (9.8)	No Answer (27.7) Strong (10.1)
II	No Answer (23.8) Hard working (9.0)	No Answer (27.7) Strong (9.2)
III	No Answer (28.7) Hard working (8.2)	No Answer (31.1) Independent/ Kind (7.6)

	YOUNGER GROUP	OLDER GROUP
I	No Answer (39.0) Strong (10.5) Hard (8.6)	Independent (11.5) Hard (9.4) No Answer (8.3)
II	No Answer (37.1) Strong (11.4) Hard working (5.7)	No Answer (13.5) Hard working (8.3) With Personality/ Kind (6.3)
III	No Answer (40.0) Hard working/ Likeable (5.7)	No Answer (17.7) Independent/ Kind (8.3) Hard working (7.3)

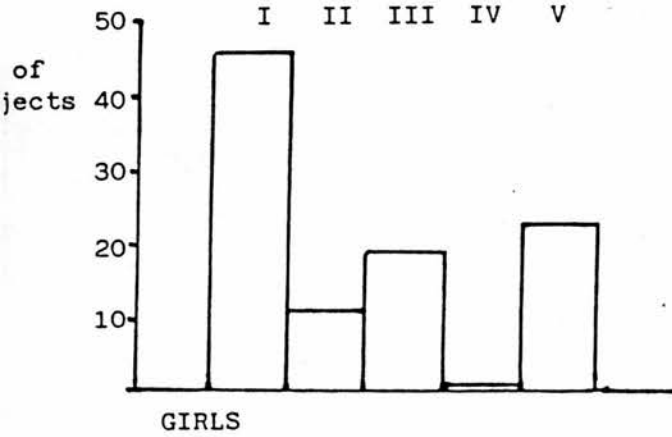
The first result that presents a wide divergence between groups is the different percentage of missing cases. The percentage of younger subjects not answering this section approached 40%. This reluctance is not shared to the same extent by the older group, whose percentage of 'No Answers' is much less than half that of the younger group. It also appears that it is the boys who show a slightly higher degree of unwillingness to answer.

Overall the results show that the younger group and the boys insist on Strength, while younger and older groups alike choose 'Hard working', but with more insistence on the part of the girls. 'Independent' is the first choice which seems to come to mind in the cases of both the older group and the girls.

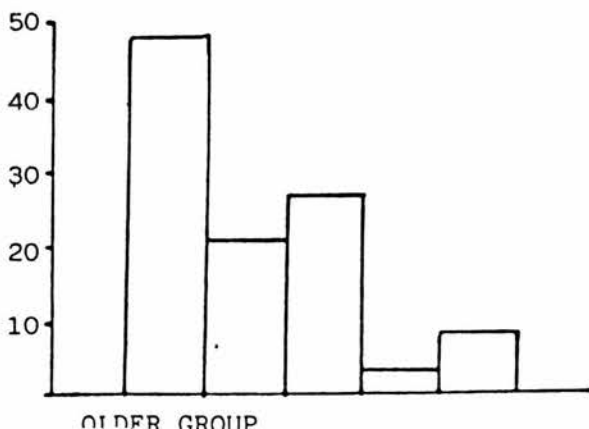
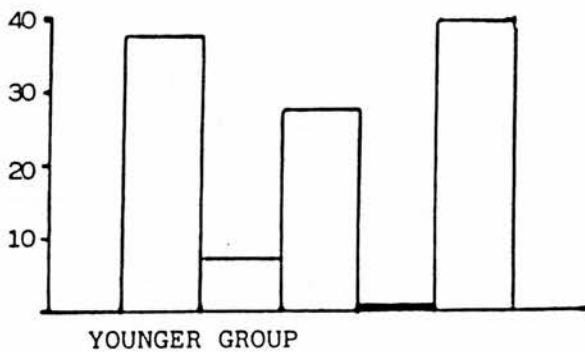
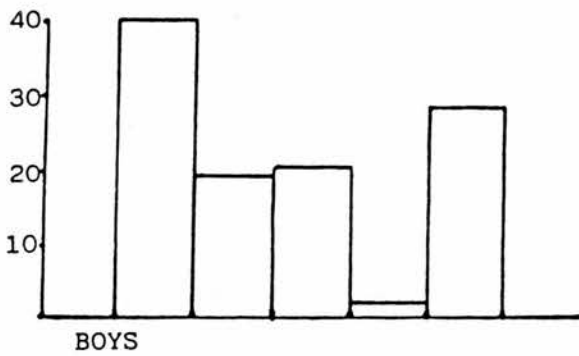
	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
GIRLS	45.7	40.3	28.5	11.4	13.8	13.9	18.8	18.6	26.9
BOYS	40.2	38.5	31.8	14.3	14.1	20.9	14.8	16.6	13.4
YOUNGER	37.4	21.1	23.0	6.8	11.7	12.6	17.4	15.7	22.2
OLDER	46.9	47.6	35.2	19.9	18.7	22.7	16.5	18.7	19.6
	OTHERS			NO ANSWER					
	I	II	III	I	II	III			
GIRLS	0.8	2.4	1.6	23.0	23.8	28.7			
BOYS	2.5	2.5	2.5	27.7	27.7	31.1			
YOUNGER	0.0	3.9	3.0	39.0	37.1	40.0			
OLDER	3.1	1.0	2.1	8.3	13.5	17.7			

Graph 3

Areas of personality related to the 'Basque character' according to sex and age. (First choices).



- I : COMPETENCE
- II : BENEVOLENCE
- III : SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS
- IV : Others
- V : No Answer



In regard to areas of personality there is overall agreement to draw the qualities basically from the Competence area, and it is the older group which reaches the highest rates in all three choices.

Percentages of subjects with first choices in each personality area are shown in Graph 3 for each sex and age group.

A summary sketch drawn from the more repeated answers might help condense all this information, and aid in obtaining a general appreciation of these results. Table 47 offers this shortened overview.

Table 47 : Summary of Choices

TOTAL		V I L L A G E S				SEX		AGE	
		Bdo	Ger	Bal	Igo	F	M	Y	O
I	QUALITIES LIKED								
	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
	B	B	B	B/C	SA	B	B	SA	B
	SA	SA	SA	B	SA	SA	SA	SA	B
	True (1)	2/1/3	1	1	2	1	1	2	1
	Kind (2)	2/3	2	3	3	2	2/3	2	16
II	Likeable (3)	3	3	3/14	2	3	2	3	2
	QUALITIES DISLIKED								
	B	B	B	B	C	B	B	C	B
	C	C	C	B	C	B	C	SA	B
	C	C	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
	False (4)	4	4	4	5	4	15	11/15	4
III	False (4)	10/11	5	5/15/19	5	5/4	5	11	4
	Proud/								
	Conceited (5)	4	5	5	18/11	5	4	11	4/15
	QUALITIES NECESSARY SUCCESS								
	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
IV	Intelligent (6)	6	6	6/2	2	6	6	2	6
	Intelligent (6)	6	6/2	6	6	6	6	6	6
	Intelligent (6)	12/3	6	17	3	6	6	6	6
	QUALITIES BASQUE CHARACTER								
	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	Hard/Indep (7/8)	8	7	8	7	7/8	9	9	8
	Strong (9)	13	13	8	9	13	9	9	13
	Kind (2)	8	2	8	2/3	13	8/2	13/3	8/2
	C	C	C	C	SA	C	C	C	C

BDO = BARAKALDO; GER = GERNIKA; BAL = BALMADEDA; IGO = IGORRE.

B = Benevolence; C = Competence; SA = Social Attractiveness.

1 Sincere/True	6 Intelligent	11 Dislikeable	16 Loyal
2 Kind	7 Hard	12 Generous	17 Good
3 Likeable	8 Independent	13 Hard working	18 Stupid
4 False	9 Strong	14 Sociable	19 Rude
5 Conceited	10 No Humour	15 Selfish	

7.4.2.1 Summing up

The results seem to point towards a tendency to associate qualities of a different nature with 'subjective' areas like 'likes' and 'dislikes' from those used in a more 'objective' one, like 'success'. 'Likes' were evaluated in terms basically of Benevolence, and, to a lesser extent, Social Attractiveness; 'dislikes' were evaluated in terms of Benevolence and Competence. Success, however, was without exception evaluated in terms of Competence.

This summary seems to hold true for a general appreciation although there are some cases which might depart from this trend.

The variable 'village' seems to account for the difference in results especially in the section on dislikes, and more variation in results seems to be caused by the variable 'age' than by sex, although all results seem to corroborate to a large extent the double option mentioned above.

The section on qualities associated with the 'Basque character' offers a high score of missing answers but from the results obtained, there is almost unanimous agreement on describing it in terms related to Competence.

As for a comparison with the results of the Pilot Study¹¹, the choices of adjectives are not only similar in quality, but also the ranking positions correspond to a considerable extent. In the section on Likes, 'Sincere'/'True', 'Kind' and 'Likeable' are the most mentioned; in the one on Dislikes, the same emphasis is placed on 'Dishonest'/'

11. Cf. Chapter 6.

'False' and 'Conceited'. 'Intelligent' is given the same priority for Success in both surveys.

In general, there are no drastic departures in the results obtained on the second occasion from those in the Pilot Study. Indeed, the contrary is true, they are in good agreement with the previous findings.

7.4.3. Stereotype projection

In this section (Appendix 7a, C) the subjects were asked to write down the qualities that each speaker evoked in them. The results are presented in the tables below with the speakers paired in the following way:

- The two speakers - male and female - who had already taken part in the Pilot Study appear as BMS1/CMS1 and BFS1/CFS1 = Basque Male Speaker 1/Castilian Male Speaker 1, and Basque Female Speaker 1/Castilian Female Speaker 1.
- The two speakers with a distinctive Basque accent - male and female - are presented as BMS2/CMS2 and BFS2/CFS2.
- Finally, the two speakers who read their texts in Castilian and Euskera ('Batua') and then again a third time using 'Biscayan', appear as BMS3a (= 'Batua')/BMS3b ('Biscayan')/CMS3 and BFS3a/BFS3b/CFS3.

As in the section on 'Preferences', as many as three qualities were given for the three choices requested. Rather than add up all the scores for one quality irrespective of the position in which they were written down, the results

have been kept apart as originally scored, so as to reproduce as far as possible the order in which they were evoked.

Table 48 : 'Stereotype' adjectives in open end labelling¹².

(Percentages of all subjects)

(a): Speakers already used in the Pilot Study

	BSM1	CSM1	BFS1	CFS1
I	Earnest (10.0) Likeable (7.9) Intelligent (7.1) *(m.c.=13.3)	Earnest (18.3) Intelligent (5.5) Silent (5.0) (m.c.=15.8)	Earnest (10.0) Peaceful (6.2) Kind (5.8) (m.c.=20.3)	Earnest (15.4) Peaceful (7.1) Shy/Likeable (5.8) (m.c.=16.2)
II	Kind (7.9) Earnest (7.5) Intelligent/ Hard working (5.8) (m.c.=13.7)	Intelligent (8.3) Earnest (7.9) Kind (5.0) (m.c.=12.4)	Likeable (7.9) Kind (7.5) Tall (5.4) (m.c.=14.9)	Earnest (8.3) Kind (6.6) Intelligent/ Young (5.8) (m.c.=12.9)
III	Kind (7.9) Sociable (6.2) Earnest/ Hard working (15.4) (m.c.=15.4)	Intelligent (8.3) Earnest (7.1) (m.c.=11.6)	Kind/ Intelligent (5.8) Earnest/ Likeable (5.4) (m.c.=18.3)	Earnest/ Kind (6.2) Self- confident/ Sociable (5.4) (m.c.=19.9)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT.	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BMS1	35.8 38.4 29.2	15.0 14.3 18.4	23.5 26.1 30.2	12.5 6.9 6.8
CMS1	40.0 41.3 38.5	13.5 13.6 13.4	18.9 21.4 29.8	17.8 6.3 6.7
BFS1	36.3 36.9 33.3	14.4 12.9 19.3	22.3 30.9 25.4	6.7 4.4 3.7
CFS1	38.6 42.9 31.4	14.9 9.2 17.6	21.8 26.1 28.4	8.5 8.9 2.7

* M.c. = missing cases

The results of Table 48(a) correspond to the speakers who were used in the Pilot Study. The more salient quality evoked in the listeners seems to be 'Earnest'. But if the speakers are compared across guises, the Castilian one seems to evoke this image to a larger extent than the Basque guise on first impression.

If compared across speakers the male speaker, irrespective of his guise, is perceived as 'Intelligent' in earlier choices, more than the female speaker who is associated with adjectives such as 'Peaceful', 'Kind', etc.

The results of the pair with the distinctive Basque accent are as follows:

(b): Speakers with an easily identifiable Basque accent

	BMS2	CMS2	BFS2	CFS2
I	Earnest/ Likeable (10.0) Self- confident (6.6) Kind (5.4) *(m.c.=16.6)	Earnest (12.4) Young (5.4) (m.c.=21.2)	Earnest (11.6) Likeable (7.9) Kind (7.5) (m.c.=16.2)	Earnest (11.2) Young (8.3) Likeable (7.1) (m.c.=20.7)
II	Earnest (7.1) Kind (6.6) (m.c.=14.5)	Earnest (10.4) Kind (5.4) (m.c.=12.9)	Kind (8.7) Earnest/ Likeable (5.8) (m.c.=13.3)	Kind (7.9) Young (6.2) (m.c.=17.0)
III	Kind (8.7) Hard working (6.6) (m.c.=17.8)	Kind (6.2) Intelligent (5.4) (m.c.=12.9)	Intelligent (5.8) Hard working Kind (5.0) (m.c.=14.9)	Hard working (6.2) (m.c.=19.5)
	COMPETENCE	BENEVOLENCE	SOCIAL ATTRACT.	OTHERS
	I II III	I II III	I II III	I II III
BMS2	36.9 37.2 32.7	12.9 17.7 21.3	24.2 25.8 22.9	9.4 4.8 5.3
CMS2	33.7 35.6 30.5	10.5 17.9 21.2	22.7 28.0 23.9	11.9 5.6 4.5
BFS2	36.5 26.5 38.1	11.7 20.8 16.3	25.9 33.5 25.6	9.7 5.9 5.1
CFS2	35.2 34.0 32.7	11.3 15.1 14.2	22.9 24.0 29.7	9.9 9.9 3.9

* m.c. = Missing cases.

The results indicate an emphasis on qualities related to 'Competence' to describe the speakers. However, 'Intelligent' is less salient to describe the male speaker than in the previous case. Although 'Earnest' is the adjective more widely used, there are some adjectives related to age 'Young' and 'Old' introduced as first impression. Curiously enough the same speaker, CMS2, is perceived as 'Young' by 5.4% of the cases, while 4.1% describe him as 'Old'. The female speaker is also described as 'Young', but these adjectives are only used in the Castilian guise¹³.

(c): Speakers reading in Batua/Biscayan dialect

	BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
I	Earnest (19.5) Tall (9.1) Likeable (6.2) *(m.c.=12.4)	Earnest (22.0) Likeable (7.9) Tall (6.2) (m.c.=13.7)	Young (11.2) Likeable (10.0) Intelligent (6.2) (m.c.=19.1)	Young (12.0) Kind (10.4) Likeable (8.3) (m.c.=16.2)
II	Intelligent (9.1) Earnest (7.5) Tall (6.6) (m.c.=10.4)	Earnest (10.0) Tall (7.9) Kind (7.1) (m.c.=12.9)	Likeable (11.2) Intelligent (7.5) Kind (7.1) (m.c.=12.9)	Likeable (9.1) Intelligent/ Earnest (5.8) Independent/ Kind (5.4) (m.c.=17.0)
III	Kind (7.9) Likeable (6.2) Intelligent (5.4) (m.c.=16.6)	Intelligent (8.7) Hard working (6.6) Sociable (6.2) (m.c.=15.4)	Kind (8.7) Intelligent (7.1) Likeable (5.8) (m.c.=12.9)	Intelligent (7.9) Likeable (6.2) Sociable (5.4) (m.c.=18.7)

* m.c. = Missing cases.

13. The ages of the speakers were:

Male speaker 1 : 33 yrs

Male speaker 2 : 26 yrs

Male speaker 3 : 19 yrs

Female speaker 1 : 27 yrs

Female speaker 2 : 23 yrs

Female speaker 3 : 20 yrs.

These are the results corresponding to the youngest speakers for isolated qualities. The results for general areas are the following:

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT.			OTHERS		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
BMS3a	48.6	42.3	35.7	7.1	15.7	17.2	25.7	26.7	25.7	6.2	4.9	4.8
CMS3	49.2	43.4	36.3	8.4	13.3	17.4	22.9	26.1	25.2	5.8	4.3	5.7
BFS3a	26.9	34.8	38.1	10.5	10.9	19.0	31.0	35.5	26.1	12.5	5.9	3.9
CFS3	25.3	34.1	31.8	18.2	12.8	14.5	26.2	30.2	29.4	14.1	5.9	5.6

These results correspond to the guises used by the other 4 speakers. They are the most divergent results obtained so far. In general areas the male speaker gets the highest scores so far seen for 'Competence' and the lowest in 'Benevolence', irrespective of his guise. The female speaker receives lower scores in 'Competence' but gets higher figures in 'Social Attractiveness'.

In regard to individual qualities, the guises seem to affect the evaluation of the speakers less than other personal characteristics, since a very similar image seems to come up in each guise, with a repeated choice of the same qualities, if slightly rearranged in the order.

In the Biscayan guise, the results are:

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACT			OTHERS		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
BMS3b	42.2	41.0	37.4	9.9	13.3	10.8	21.9	25.2	28.9	9.8	7.2	5.1
BFS3b	25.6	31.0	31.9	14.9	14.5	16.2	31.5	31.5	36.5	13.9	8.1	2.1
	BMS3b						BFS3b					
I	Earnest (14.5) Young (7.5) Tall (7.1) *(m.c. = 16.2)						Likeable/Young (12.0) Kind (9.1) (m.c. = 14.1)					
II	Intelligent (7.9) Tall (6.6) Earnest (6.2) (m.c. = 13.3)						Likeable (10.4) Intelligent (7.5) Kind (7.1) (m.c. = 14.9)					
III	Intelligent (7.5) Hard working (6.6) Likeable/Tall (5.8) (m.c. = 17.8)						Sociable (7.9) Likeable (6.6) Kind (5.8) (m.c. = 13.3)					

* m.c. = Missing cases.

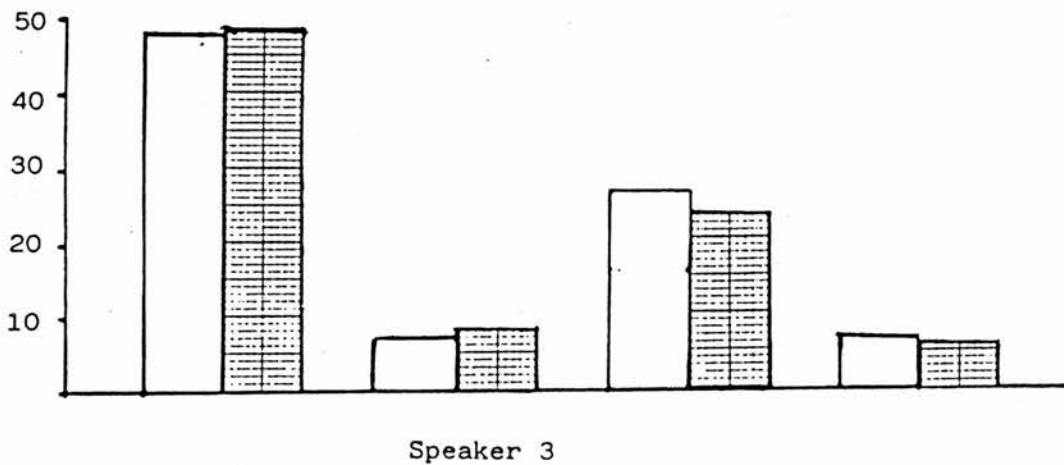
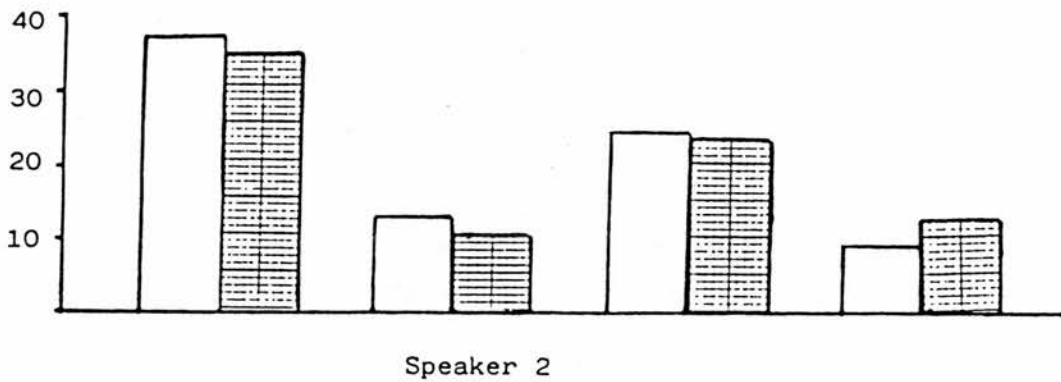
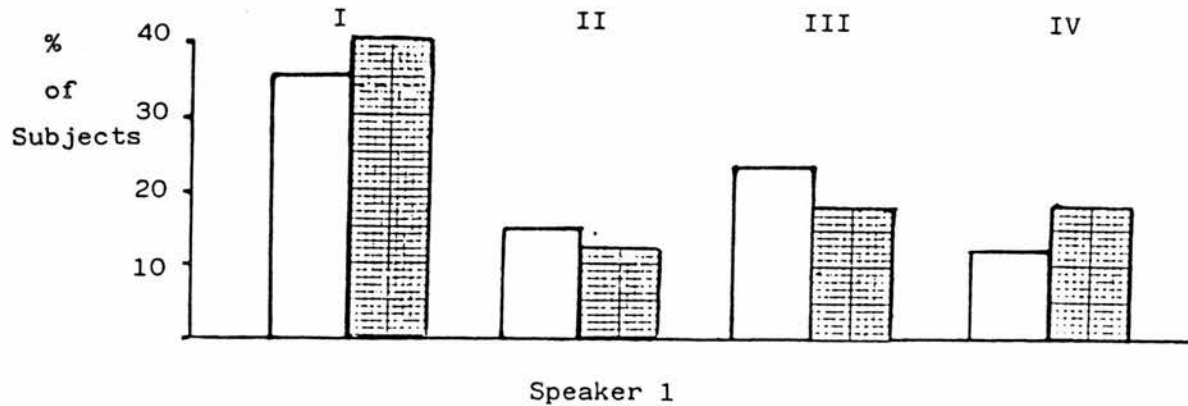
The results repeat the same curious change in the choice of adjectives. The description of the male speaker as 'Earnest' is still the number one selected in the first position and that of 'Young' for the female speaker, as in her other two guises. This adjective, 'Young', together with 'Tall' and 'Earnest' for the male speaker, appear as very salient in the perception of the listeners irrespective of guises.

If we take into account the general results on areas for the six speakers, their graphical representations would clearly indicate that the closest perception of the two guises corresponds to speakers who are not so similarly rated as to individual qualities (Graph 4).

Graph 4

General areas of Personality. (Percentages of first choices in each area).

a) Male Speakers



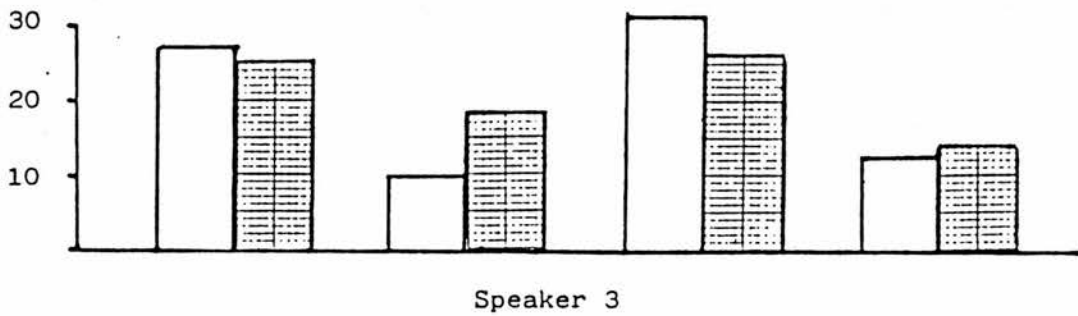
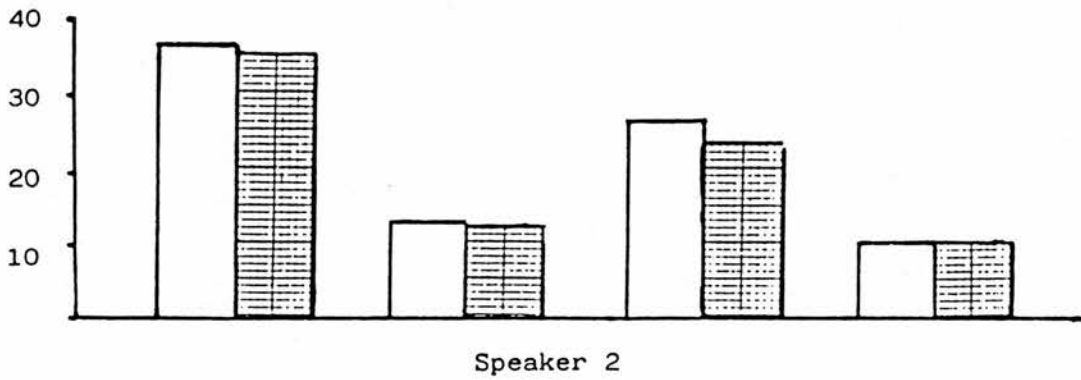
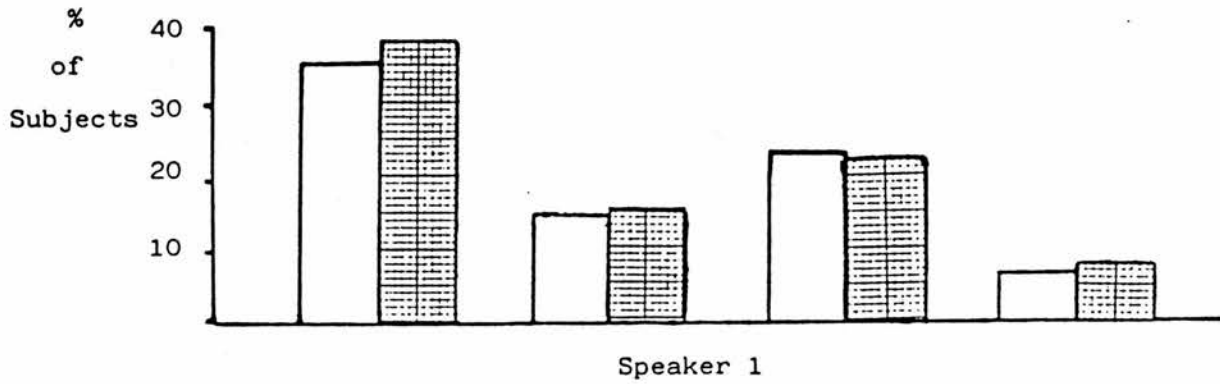
□: Basque
 ▨: Castilian

I Competence
 II Benevolence
 III Social Attractiveness
 IV Others

Graph 4

General areas of Personality. (Percentages of first choices in each area).

b) Female Speakers



□ : Basque
 ▨ : Castilian

There is a curious 'cross' in the results of the first and third pairs of speakers. It is the male of the first pair and the female of the third one who are perceived more differently, while the results for their partners are more in line with the second pair in both guises.

These two speakers seem to be the ones that offer greater contrast in the results so far analysed, and it would be interesting to see how they are affected by the variable of 'village' being introduced into the analysis. As the number of choices is greatly increased by doing so, only one adjective will be given for each ranking position in each village.

The results (Appendix 9i) seem to indicate that in the case of the first pair, across all villages the speakers are mainly described in terms of 'Competence', except for two results where there is a tie in the score with 'Social Attractiveness' and 'Benevolence'.

Where the results of individual qualities are concerned 'Earnest' seems to come to mind irrespective of the sex of the speaker. However, this is more the case in the Castilian guise than in the Basque one, where it is accompanied by 'Kind' and 'Sociable' for the female speaker, but 'Likeable', 'Intelligent' and quite a number of other adjectives for the male speaker who is the one more differently perceived across villages, particularly in the Basque guise.

The results for the second pair present two changes compared to the ones obtained for the first pair. The first is that the figures on 'Competence' are not as high although

this is the area most widely chosen to describe the speakers. The second is that the Basque female speaker is described mainly in terms of 'Competence' by the cases from the two villages with a higher number of Basque speakers, but in terms of 'Social Attractiveness' by those coming from the other two villages.

In analysing the individual qualities, 'Earnest' is used again to describe the speakers, but to a lesser extent than in the first pair, and 'Likeable' is more prominent irrespective of the sex of the speaker or the guise.

The third pair presents a similar divergence to the second pair as to the way they are rated by the cases. While the male speaker is unanimously rated in terms of 'Competence' and particularly highly by the Basque speaking villages, there is a difference in treatment for the female speaker. Two villages repeat their results irrespective of the guise, and the other two follow a different pattern in their appreciation, offering contradictory images.

The results of isolated qualities present the same difference in treatment as for areas. While the male speaker is rated using 'Earnest' as the most frequent choice, the female is described as 'Likeable' and 'Young', irrespective of their guises.

In the Biscayan guise, the findings are similar, although the percentages are lower for the male speaker and are again varied in the case of the female.

The results analysed, taking into account the variables of 'Sex' and 'Age' are given in Appendix 9ii. As with the

results in the previous section on 'Villages', only one choice has been reported for each position, except in the case of tied results.

In order to condense such voluminous and varied information, a brief summary of only first rated choices has been drawn up in Tables 49 and 50, followed by their discussion in the summing up.

Table 49(a) : Summary of 'Stereotype' adjectives grouped into areas.

(a) Male Speakers

	Total		V I L L A G E S				SEX		AGE	
			Bdo	Ger	Bal	Igo	F	M	Y	O
BMS1	I	C*	C	C	C	C/SA	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	C	C
	III	SA					SA	C	SA	C
BSM2	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	C	C
BSM3a	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	C	C
BSM3b	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	C	C
	III	C					C	C/SA	SA	C
CMS1	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	C	C
	III	C					C	C	C/SA	C
CMS2	I	C	C/SA	C	C	C	C/SA	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	SA	C
CMS3	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	SA	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	SA	C

Bdo=Barakaldo; Ger=Gernika; Bal=Balmaseda; Igo=Igorre.

*C = Competence; SA = Social Attractiveness.

(b) Female Speakers

	Total		V I L L A G E S				SEX		AGE	
			Bdo	Ger	Bal	Igo	F	M	Y	O
BFS1	I	C*	C	C	C	C	C	C	SA	C
	II	C					SA	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	C	C
BFS2	I	C	SA	C	SA	C	C	C	SA	C
	II	SA					SA	SA	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	SA	C
BFS3a	I	SA	SA	SA	C	C/SA	SA	SA	SA	C
	II	SA					SA	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C	SA	C
BFS3b	I	SA	SA	C	C	SA	C	SA	SA	C
	II	SA					SA	C	SA	C
	III	SA					SA	SA	SA	C
CFS1	I	C	C	C	C/B	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	SA	SA	C
CFS2	I	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	C/SA	SA	C
CFS3	I	SA	SA	C	C	SA	C	SA	SA	C
	II	C					C	C	SA	C
	III	C					C	SA	SA	C

Bdo=Barakaldo; Ger=Gernika; Bal=Balmaseda; Igo=Igorre.

*C = Competence; SA = Social Attractiveness.

Table 49(b) : Summary of 'Stereotype' adjectives

(a) Male Speakers

	Total	V I L L A G E S				S E X		A G E	
		Bdo	Ger	Bal	Igor	F	M	Y	O
BMS1	EARNEST KIND KIND	Likeable	Intelli- gent Peace- ful	Aged/ Young/ Indep- endent Intelli- gent Earnest Depend.	Earnest Aged/ Likeable	Likeable Earnest	Aged	Likeable	Earnest Peaceful
BMS2	EARNEST/ LIKEABLE/ EARNEST KIND	Earnest	Likeable	Likeable	Earnest	Likeable	Self- conf.	Earnest	Self- conf.
BMS3a	EARNEST INTELL. KIND	Earnest	Earnest	Tall	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest
BMS3b	EARNEST INTELL. INTELL.	Earnest	Earnest	Intelli.	Earnest	Earnest	Intelli.	Earnest	Self- conf.
CSM1	EARNEST INTELL. INTELL.	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest
CMS2	EARNEST EARNEST KIND	Earnest	Earnest/ Shy	Likeable/ Shy	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest
CMS3	EARNEST EARNEST INTELL.	Likeable	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Hard working	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest

(b) Female Speakers

		V I L L A G E S				S E X		A G E	
	Total	Bdo	Ger	Bal	Igo	F	M	Y	O
BFS1	EARNEST LIKEABLE KIND/ INTELL.	Earnest/ Sociable	Earnest/ Sociable	Kind	Earnest/	Earnest	Peaceful/ Young	Earnest	Sociable
BFS2	EARNEST KIND INTELL.	Independ/ Short	Earnest	Likeable	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest
BFS3a	YOUNG LIKEABLE KIND	Likeable	Likeable	Intelli- gent/ Young	Young	Likeable/ Tall	Young	Young	Likeable
BFS3b	LIKEABLE/ YOUNG LIKEABLE SOCIABLE	Likeable	Kind	Young	Young	Likeable	Young	Young	Intelli- gent/ Young
CFS1	EARNEST EARNEST EARNEST/ KIND	Earnest	Earnest	Peaceful	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Earnest	Humble
CFS2	EARNEST KIND HARD WORKING	Earnest	Likeable	Shy	Earnest	Earnest	Young	Likeable	Intelli- gent
CFS3	YOUNG LIKEABLE INTELL.	Likeable	Kind	Young	Young	Young	Kind	Young	Kind/ Young

7.4.3.1 Summing up

In terms of Areas of Personality, the Total results show that the male speakers are described with adjectives related to Competence, irrespective of their guises, and the female speakers in their Castilian guise are mainly described with adjectives from the area of Competence, while adjectives related to Social Attractiveness are employed with two of the speakers in their Basque guise.

In analysing the results according to Villages, Competence is the area most associated with the description of the male speakers with only two exceptions - one for each guise - where Social Attractiveness gets a tie result with the former. As for the female speakers, the picture is far less homogeneous. One speaker is rated mainly in terms of Competence in both her guises. Another speaker is rated in terms of Competence in her Castilian guise, but in those of Social Attractiveness in her Basque guise by the two villages with the smaller number of speakers of Basque.

Finally there is the third speaker who gets a mixed description in terms of Competence and Social Attractiveness with no apparent conclusive relationship to either guise or village.

When the answers are divided according to the sex of the raters, the male speakers are rated almost unanimously in terms of Competence - irrespective of guises - while there is some variation in the descriptions of the female speakers. In their Basque guises, the girls use a mixture of Competence and Social Attractiveness with a higher frequency

of terms related to the latter than the boys. In their Castilian guises the female speakers are unanimously described in terms of Competence by the girls, but not so by the boys who offer again a mixed description in terms of Competence and Social Attractiveness, more similar to their description of the Basque guise.

Across age groups the differences in the results are more consistent. The older group, without exception, uses terms related to Competence for all speakers in both their guises. The younger group divide their answers between male and female speakers. While the latter are described in terms of Social Attractiveness in their Basque guise and with two exceptions for the Castilian one, the male speakers in the Basque guise are mainly described in Competence terms. However, some terms related to Social Attractiveness are also employed in the Castilian guise bringing the descriptions of male and female speakers in this guise closer to each other than in the Basque one.

In general terms, it is the age of the raters, the sex of the speakers and the guise of the female speaker that cause more variation in results in this summary analysis of areas of personality.

With regard to individual qualities, in the general appreciation, the male speaker is rated as 'Earnest' in the first term in each guise and then he is qualified in terms of kindness in the Basque guise and the Castilian with the Basque accent, but in terms of intelligence for the Castilian guise and the youngest speaker in both guises. The female

speakers obtain similar ratings with 'Earnest' being mentioned in the first place and then qualified by 'Kind', 'Likeable' or 'Intelligent' in either guise, with the exception of the youngest speaker who is rated as 'Young' in both guises, and then rated as 'Likeable' and 'Kind' in her Basque guise, and 'Likeable' and 'Intelligent' in her Castilian one.

When the results from the villages are compared, the male speakers in the Castilian guise are described mainly as 'Earnest' with the exception of the one with the Basque accent who is described in terms of likeability by one village, as is the youngest speaker by another village. In his Basque guises this latter speaker is treated differently from the other two, in that the complementary adjectives to 'Earnest' are 'Tall' and 'Intelligent' while in the other two cases, 'Likeable' seems to be more preferred in one case and in the other there is a wider dispersion in the choice of adjectives. The female speakers similarly are rated as 'Earnest' and 'Likeable' or 'Kind' with an insistence on 'Young' for the youngest one irrespective of guise which seems to be less prominent than other characteristics of the speaker.

A comparison of results according to the sex of the raters, indicates that the male speakers are perceived almost similarly by boys and girls in their Castilian guise, but there is more variation in their Basque one, where the girls stress likeability for the older speakers. As for the female speakers, there are differences in the adjectives

mentioned as first option between boys and girls with the former stressing 'Young' irrespective of speakers or guises, and the girls describing the two older speakers as 'Earnest'.

When looking at the answers taking into account the age of the raters, there is no difference in the case of the male speakers in their Castilian guise, and there is less variation in the Basque one, between speakers among the younger group than the older one. In the case of the female speakers there is no common choice between groups in their selection of adjectives.

In general terms it is the sex of the speakers and the guise of the male speakers which seem to cause the differences in the choice of adjectives given by the raters in this summary, which uses only the first choices of the cases.

Finally, a complementary image to the information discussed above can be supplied by the percentages obtained in the choice of adjectives. There seem to be some speakers where consensus among the raters appears to be higher whereas the percentage for others is not only quite low but a number of different adjectives are used.

Thus, in general terms, the first pair seems to obtain more agreement from their raters in their Castilian guise; the second one obtain similar results in both guises without a large difference in their low percentages, and in the third pair, it is the male speaker who seems to evoke the same quality among the highest number of raters.

Across villages some of these differences are more noticeable, such as in the case of the first couple, where the male speaker obtains higher percentages in the Basque speaking villages in his Castilian guise. These results are not repeated in the case of the second male speaker but are replicated in the case of the third.

In general terms it can be said - with only a few exceptions - if a higher percentage on a given adjective is interpreted as agreement on a perceived image of the speaker, there are more stereotyped images of the speakers in their Castilian guise than in the Basque one. Furthermore, it is the girls and the younger group who agree more in their choices.

7.4.4 Variations in general impression

As in the Pilot Study, in order to elicit a global reaction to the speaker, a scale used to measure 'social distance' was included¹⁴. The results of the answers to this exercise (Appendix 7a, C-1b) are given in the tables below.

Table 50 : Acceptance/Rejection of Speakers

(a)

Statements	BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
'a' to 'c'	64.8%	27.8%	61.0%	46.1%
'd'	17.8%	21.6%	20.3%	17.0%
'e' to 'g'	17.1%	50.6%	18.7%	35.2%
Missing cases	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%
Mode	'c' (34.9%)	'e' (30.7%)	'c' (29.5%)	'e' (22.4%)

14. See Chapter 6.4.3.2.

The results indicate a general tendency to favour the Basque guise. However, while with the female speaker the difference in percentages, despite being considerable was kept within the same range of favourable options - although an option below 'd', neutral, was the most repeated one - the shift in the case of the male speaker was even more acute and drastic falling from the above neutral options to the less positive ones which were endorsed by half of the cases.

(b)

Statements	BMS2	CMS2	BFS2	CFS2
'a' to 'c'	47.3%	33.1%	40.7%	49.0%
'd'	16.2%	19.9%	20.3%	18.7%
'e' to 'g'	35.7%	44.9%	38.6%	31.1%
Missing cases	0.8%	2.1%	0.4%	1.2%
Mode	'c' (27.0%)	'e' (26.6%)	'e' (24.5%)	'e' (24.9%)

The same tendency of favouring the male speaker in his Basque guise was repeated, although to a lesser extent in this case and scores were more evenly spread over the classifications. As for the female speaker the pattern of obtaining more positive options than negative ones is repeated as in the previous case, but, here the Castilian guise - with the Basque accent - is slightly better rated than the Basque guise itself.

(c)

Statements	BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
'a' to 'c'	54.3%	59.4%	64.7%	61.9%
'd'	18.3%	19.5%	15.4%	14.1%
'e' to 'g'	27.4%	20.3%	19.5%	23.6%
Missing cases	0.0%	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%
Mode	'c' (34.0%)	'c' (25.7%)	'c' (23.7%)	'c' (22.4%)

The results of contrasting these two speakers in the same guises as the other four discussed above are not in line with the image which had already been established. The female speaker is rated very favourably in both guises with a slight preference for her Basque guise. However, the male speaker, although he gets good results in his Basque guise, with an intermediate position between the other two speakers, is not as well rated as in his Castilian guise. This represented a departure from the result expected in view of the previous answers.

(d)

Statements	BMS3b	BFS3b
'a' to 'c'	50.2%	62.3%
'd'	19.1%	16.2%
'e' to 'g'	29.9%	21.1%
Missing cases	0.8%	0.4%
Mode	'c' (26.1%)	'c' (22.8%)

In a comparison of the two Basque guises, the results are similar, although the 'Biscayan' one is slightly less favoured.

Although the general results establish a pattern of bias towards the Basque guise in general terms, the introduction of the variable 'village' was expected to show a stronger bias in the answers which can be analysed from the results below.

Table 51 : Acceptance/Rejection of Speakers by Villages
(a)

Statements	BMS1				CMS1			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a' to 'c'	64.6	63.3	63.5	67.9	27.4	33.3	26.9	23.3
'd'	14.5	11.7	25.4	19.6	29.0	21.7	23.8	10.7
'e' to 'g'	20.9	23.3	11.1	12.5	43.5	44.9	49.2	66.1
Missing cases	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mode	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'd'	'e'	'e'	'e'
	(37.1)	(11.7)	(38.1)	(28.6)	(29.0)	(23.3)	(38.1)	(33.9)
Statements	BFS1				CFS1			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a' to 'c'	59.7	58.3	58.7	67.9	53.2	54.9	34.9	41.1
'd'	22.6	15.0	27.0	16.1	17.7	16.7	19.0	14.3
'e' to 'g'	17.7	26.7	14.3	16.1	29.1	28.4	42.8	41.2
Missing cases	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.6
Mode	'b'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'e'	'e'
	(24.2)	(28.3)	(36.5)	(30.4)	(29.0)	(28.3)	(27.0)	(30.4)

These results show that the male speaker is better accepted in his Basque guise in all four villages, as is the female speaker, although she gets somewhat more favourable results in her Castilian guise in the two non-Basque speaking villages.

(b)

Statements	BMS2				CMS2			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a' to 'c'	45.2	33.3	60.3	50.0	30.6	43.3	30.1	28.6
'd'	17.7	11.7	19.0	16.1	16.1	11.7	27.0	25.0
'e' to 'g'	37.2	53.3	20.6	32.1	50.1	45.0	38.1	46.4
Missing cases	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.8	3.2	0.0	4.8	0.0
Mode	'c'	'e'	'c'	'c'	'e'	'e'	'd'	'e'
	(32.3)	(40.0)	(38.1)	(23.3)	(22.6)	(35.0)	(27.0)	(25.0)
Statements	BFS2				CFS2			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a' to 'c'	43.5	50.0	34.9	33.8	46.8	58.3	47.6	42.8
'd'	22.6	15.0	23.8	19.6	22.6	15.0	15.9	21.4
'e' to 'g'	33.9	33.3	41.3	46.4	29.0	26.7	34.9	33.9
Missing cases	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.6	1.8
Mode	'c'	'c'	'e'	'e'	'e'	'c'	'e'	'e'
	(24.0)	(25.0)	(25.4)	(33.9)	(24.2)	(25.0)	(28.6)	(23.3)

The above results indicate a different treatment for both speakers. The male speaker, as in the first case, obtains lower ratings in his Castilian guise, although the scores are a little improved.

In his Basque guise the best results come from the two Bascophone villages, and he is assigned very low scores in one of the other two villages. The results for the female speaker are the opposite to the ones obtained for the first speaker. She is much better accepted in her Castilian guise - with her distinctive Basque accent - and in her Basque guise she is scored low in the two Bascophone villages.

(c)

	BMS3a				BMS3b				CMS3			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a'-'c'	54.9	58.3	53.9	50.0	41.9	58.3	49.2	51.8	69.4	61.7	60.3	44.6
'd'	17.7	15.0	15.9	25.0	21.0	21.7	15.9	17.9	16.1	16.7	20.6	25.0
'e'-'g'	27.4	26.7	30.2	25.1	37.1	20.0	34.9	26.8	12.9	21.6	17.4	30.4
Missing cases	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	1.6	0.0	1.6	0.0
Mode	'c'	'c'	'c'	'd'	'e'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'c'	'd/e'
	37.1	38.3	41.3	25.0	22.6	33.3	30.2	23.2	30.6	23.3	23.8	25.0

	BFS3a				BFS3b				CFS3			
	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo	Bdo	Bal	Ger	Igo
'a'-'c'	59.7	66.6	63.5	69.6	59.7	68.3	52.3	69.6	66.2	63.4	61.9	55.4
'd'	19.4	11.7	14.3	16.1	12.9	8.3	25.4	17.9	16.1	8.3	14.3	17.9
'e'-'g'	21.0	21.7	22.2	12.6	27.4	23.3	22.3	10.7	17.8	26.7	23.9	26.9
Missing cases	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
Mode	'b'	'c'	'c'	'b'	'c'	'c'	'd'	'b'	'b/a'	'c'	'c'	'a'
	22.6	28.3	25.4	33.9	22.6	25.0	25.4	32.1	22.6	26.7	23.8	21.4

The results above correspond to the last pair of speakers. These results differ from the previous ones in that the higher percentages are given in all cases to choices

associated with a better acceptance of the speakers. The guise seems to affect the answers more in the percentages than in the quality of choices.

Across guises the male speaker gets higher percentages in his Castilian guise from all villages except one. The female speaker obtains higher percentages on the best choices in her Basque guise from all villages except one.

The differences in percentages with the Biscayan guise do not follow a consistent pattern in either case.

Table 52 : Acceptance/Rejection of Speakers by Sex of Raters

	BOYS			GIRLS		
	'a'to'c'	'd'	'e'to'g'	'a'to'c'	'd'	'e'to'g'
BMS1	67.2	19.3	12.6	62.2	16.4	21.3
CMS1	28.6	25.2	46.2	27.0	18.0	54.9
BFS1	59.7	21.0	18.5	56.6	22.1	21.3
CFS1	50.4	11.8	36.1	41.8	22.1	34.5
BMS2	47.1	14.3	37.8	47.5	18.0	33.6
CMS2	38.6	20.2	40.3	27.9	19.7	49.2
BFS2	40.3	23.5	35.3	41.0	17.2	41.8
CFS2	53.0	14.3	31.9	45.0	23.0	30.4
BMS3a	52.1	21.0	26.9	56.5	15.6	27.8
BMS3b	44.5	21.8	32.8	55.7	16.4	27.1
CMS3	59.7	21.0	18.5	59.1	18.0	22.1
BFS3a	66.3	14.3	19.4	63.1	16.4	19.7
BFS3b	58.8	19.3	21.9	65.6	13.1	20.4
CFS3	62.2	12.6	24.3	61.4	15.6	23.0

When the answers are divided according to the sex of the cases, the main tendency of favouring the first two male speakers in their Basque guises and not discriminating to such a large extent the female speakers in both their guises is still present. Also, the third pair is set apart from the other two, in that they are rated more heavily in the highest marks of acceptance independently of their guises.

In general terms, there seems to be a tendency for speakers to obtain higher extreme scores from raters of the opposite sex.

Table 53 : Acceptance/Rejection of Speakers by Age of Raters

	Y O U N G E R			O L D E R		
	'a'to'c'	'd'	'e'to'g'	'a'to'c'	'd'	'e'to'g'
BMS1	67.6	12.4	19.0	60.5	27.1	12.5
CMS1	33.3	25.7	41.0	20.8	26.8	58.4
BFS1	62.9	22.9	14.3	55.2	22.9	21.8
CFS1	48.6	15.2	36.2	39.6	21.9	34.4
BMS2	48.6	18.1	33.4	50.0	17.7	31.2
CMS2	35.2	20.0	43.8	35.4	19.8	41.7
BFS2	44.8	22.9	32.4	35.5	19.8	43.8
CFS2	59.0	17.1	22.9	38.6	21.9	37.5
BMS3a	59.0	13.3	27.7	52.1	21.9	26.0
BMS3b	50.5	18.1	30.5	49.0	19.8	30.2
CMS3	67.6	17.1	15.2	51.1	20.8	26.1
BFS3a	74.3	11.4	14.3	54.2	20.8	24.0
BFS3b	74.3	14.3	11.5	51.0	17.7	30.2
CFS3	77.2	13.3	8.6	46.9	14.6	38.6

If the results are examined according to age groups, there seems to be a tendency for the older group to spread their results more evenly over the classifications while the younger ones do not balance their results in the same way, for example, compare the figures for the CFS3. In the case of the second female speaker the results from the older group are slightly more unfavourable than the ones obtained in her Castilian guise, a tendency which is not paralleled in the younger group.

On the whole there seems to be not so much variation between the two groups in how they rate as in the definiteness of their answers.

7.4.4.1 Summing up

The results obtained from this exercise are difficult to sum up without two qualifications. The first is that male speakers were treated differently from female speakers across guises with the exception of the youngest pair. The second is that the youngest pair was consistently set apart from the other two. Given these qualifications it may be said that this study shows a tendency to favour the Basque guise in the male speaker, but not to make such difference in the treatment of guises for the female speaker.

Across villages, the male speakers are generally better liked in their Basque guise with the exception of one village. Female speakers appear to be discriminated across villages and guises. The Basque accent of the second female speaker might cause her to be better rated in her Castilian guise in the Bascophone villages, but it seems to have caused her not to obtain such high ratings in her Basque guise in the same villages. It seems as if her Basque accent allowed her to be identified as a Basque speaker in her Castilian guise, but that she was penalised in her Basque guise precisely on account of her distinctive accent. The first female speaker was treated precisely in the opposite way in these two villages, and finally the third pair are equally well rated irrespective of guise or village.

The variables of sex and age do not alter the trend in the results stated above. Of the two, the latter seems to add more variation to the results. The younger group - according to their answers - appear to be more ready to

accept people, and especially so in the case of the female speakers, irrespective of guises.

7.4.5 Evaluation of Personality Traits

In this section (Appendix 7a, C-2a) the results are analysed of the ratings on a ten point scale by the cases of 22 qualities given to the speakers in both their guises. The principles on which the items were chosen - some obtained from previous literature, some from previous similar studies, and some from the specific context of the survey, - have already been discussed in Chapter 6 together with mention of this type of semantic differential scale (Osgood et al., 1957).

The mean scores for each speaker in each guise are given in Appendix 10, first in an overall appreciation and then according to the different villages. In addition, the *t* values for significant differences in guises have also been included between: first, the overall evaluations of the speakers; then, from those obtained in each village as well as from the results of the villages grouped into two pairs according to the number of speakers in the area; and finally, from the answers analysed according to the sex and age of the subjects.

A summary of the information thus obtained will be discussed below by means of the significant contrasts shown up by the tests. Each speaker is considered separately, since it was felt that in this way a more detailed appraisal of individual variations might be obtained and which would

otherwise be masked if all the scores were added together in an overall appreciation.

The final result requiring examination is that the overall mean scores of both guises seem to follow a similar pattern of low and high scores for the same traits, irrelevant of guises, a result already observed in the Pilot Study (7.4.3.3). For example:

Male Speakers	BASQUE			CASTILIAN		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Quiet	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.9	3.2
Intelligent	6.3	5.8	6.4	6.0	5.1	6.9
Hard working	7.0	6.6	6.7	6.1	6.0	6.9
Female Speakers	BASQUE			CASTILIAN		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Quiet	3.9	4.0	3.4	4.2	4.0	3.3
Intelligent	6.2	5.5	6.2	5.6	5.7	6.1
Hard working	6.6	5.9	6.2	6.1	6.0	6.2

The second observation is that, as in the previous study, there are some differences between ratings ascribed to male and female speakers in respect of certain traits. For example:

Male Speakers	BASQUE			CASTILIAN		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Hard	3.5	4.1	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.9
Leader	4.6	4.2	4.9	4.6	4.2	5.0
Self confident	5.9	5.6	6.1	5.6	5.0	6.0
Female Speakers	BASQUE			CASTILIAN		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Hard	3.1	3.8	3.3	3.6	3.1	3.2
Leader	4.1	3.9	4.2	3.8	3.7	4.0
Self confident	5.5	5.1	5.5	5.2	4.9	5.4

However, besides these possible tendencies of pointing towards some traits as more salient or favouring others based on a given variable, the main interest of the exercise was to investigate these same tendencies based on guises. Table 54 sums up the significant contrasts present in the ratings of traits in this overall analysis of results.

Table 54 : Significant contrasts between the Basque and Castilian guises

(a) Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Kind***	Tall***	-	Kind***	Hard	-
Generous***	Intelli- gent***	-	Intelli- gent***	Intransi- gent**	-
Loyal***	Loyal***	-	Loyal***	Ambitious*	-
Peaceful***	Kind**	-	Hard working***	-	-
Sociable***	Enter- prising**	-	Enter- prising**	-	-
Hard working***	Generous**	-	Generous**	-	-
Religious**	Indepen- dent**	-	Indepen- dent**	-	-
Humour**	Self- confident**	-	Likeable**	-	-
Likeable**	Sociable**	-	-	-	-
Intelli- gent*	Hard working**	-	-	-	-
-	Likeable*	-	-	-	-

(b) Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious***	Quiet**	Intelli- gent***	Wealthy**	Generous**	-
Hard***	-	Tall**	-	Loyal**	-
Intransi- gent***	-	Reserved*	-	Peaceful**	-
Wealthy***	-	-	-	-	-
Earnest**	-	-	-	-	-

From the results above the first contrast to be noticed is the greater number of traits which are rated more highly in the Basque guise than in the Castilian one. The second obvious detail is the contrast between individuals in the comparison. Whereas some speakers seem to attract most of the significant contrasts, for others there are very few.

Across speakers the traits rated higher in both guises correspond to all areas of personality. There are no qualities to be found consistently rated higher in all cases in one particular guise. But in the Basque guise 'Kind', 'Generous' and 'Loyal' are repeated with three speakers, and interestingly enough these same traits are rated higher for the female speaker in Castilian with the distinctive Basque accent.

Interpreting these results in the light of the results obtained in the section on Preferences, the Basque speakers seem to obtain higher ratings on qualities which make them not only well liked, but considered as able to achieve success. This trend is not confirmed in one case only, where the Basque accent seems to take precedence over the Castilian guise and therefore, the favourable image proposed for Basque speakers is not refuted.

After this first overall general appreciation the role played by the place of origin of the raters was studied next.

The significant contrasts in traits analysed according to the different villages are given below:

Table 55 : Significant contrasts between the Basque and Castilian guises in each village

BARAKALDO

(a) Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Loyal***	Intelligent**	Loyal***	Independent**	Hard**	-
Peaceful***	Loyal**	-	Intelligent**	Leader*	-
Kind**	Enterprising*	-	Self-confident*	-	-
Generous**	Self-confident*	-	Hard working*	-	-
Humour*	-	-	-	-	-
Sociable*	-	-	-	-	-

(b) Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Hard**	Quiet**	Intelligent**	Religious*	Religious*	Kind**
Intransigent*	Hard*	Religious*	Wealthy*	-	-
Wealthy*	Religious*	-	-	-	-
-	Earnest*	-	-	-	-

The difference in the number of traits rated higher in Basque than in Castilian is maintained although the list is shortened if compared with the overall results.

The adjectives rated higher in the Castilian guise are a reminder of the image portrayed in the Pilot Study, based on qualities such as 'Hard' and 'Intransigent' for the male speaker and 'Kind' for the female. However, in the case of Barakaldo 'Religious' is present in both groups of speakers and so, to a lesser extent, is 'Wealthy'.

The Basque guise is divided between Male Speaker 1 being well liked, and Speaker 2 where the stress is put on qualities more related to success, and this last image is ascribed to the Female Speaker too.

BALMASEDA

(a) Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Kind***	Enterprising**	-	Intelligent***	Hard*	-
Generous*	Intelligent**	-	Generous*	Intransigent*	-
Intelligent*	Self-confident**	-	Independent*	-	-
Leader*	Tall*	-	Loyal*	-	-
Hard working*	Independent*	-	-	-	-

(b) Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Hard*	-	Kind*	-	Generous*	Intelligent*
-	-	-	-	Intelligent*	-
				Loyal*	

The pattern established in Barakaldo is repeated to a certain extent in Balmaseda, but with some qualifications. In the Castilian guise there is no total agreement on the use of 'Hard' for the male speakers, since the third one - who is consistently better perceived - is more highly rated as 'Kind'. The female speaker 2, noticeable by her distinctive Basque accent, is more highly rated on qualities found in the Basque guise and vice versa.

The image obtained in Barakaldo for the Basque guise is reinforced here by the higher ratings of the qualities found in the male and female speakers. Furthermore, in addition to qualities related to Benevolence, some to do with Competence are also repeatedly used.

GERNIKA

(a) Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Kind**	Kind**	-	Kind**	-	Intel- ligent*
Generous***	Sociable**	-	Loyal**	-	-
Loyal***	Tall*	-	Generous*	-	-
Peaceful**	Loyal*	-	Likeable*	-	-
Likeable**	-	-	Hard working*	-	-
Sociable**	-	-	-	-	-
Tall*	-	-	-	-	-
Religious*	-	-	-	-	-
Humour	-	-	-	-	-
Hard working*	-	-	-	-	-

(b) Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious***	Ambitious*	Tall*	Self- confident**	Likeable*	-
Intransi- gent***	-	Enter- prising*	Wealthy*	-	-
Hard**	-	Intelli- gent*	Hard*	-	-
Wealthy*	-	-	Ambitious*	-	-
Earnest*	-	-	-	-	-

In Gernika some elements which could intensify the two visions corresponding to each guise are added. The choice of qualities selected as more highly rated in the Castilian

guise corresponds to someone who has the desire for success. Those associated with the Basque guise correspond more than in the two previous villages to the portrayal of someone popular and well liked, being described in terms of Benevolence and Social Attractiveness.

IGORRE

(a) Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Kind***	Tall*	Likeable*	Loyal**	Ambitious*	Sociable**
Generous***	Hard*	-	Self-confident**	-	Hard working**
Hard working***	Intelligent*	-	Kind*	-	Enterprising*
Loyal**	-	-	Likeable*	-	-
Enterprising*	-	-	Hard working*	-	-
Intelligent*	-	-	-	-	-
Peaceful*	-	-	-	-	-
Religious*	-	-	-	-	-
Likeable*	-	-	-	-	-
Sociable*	-	-	-	-	-

(b) Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious***	-	Hard**	-	Peaceful**	-
Hard**	-	-	-	-	-
Intransigent*	-	-	-	-	-
Wealthy*	-	-	-	-	-
Earnest*	-	-	-	-	-

In Igorre the results for the Castilian guise repeat the image already formed in the three previous villages, and as for the Basque guise, there are mixed options according to speakers. There is even mention of 'Hard', besides 'Kind', which so far had only been assigned to the Female speaker with her distinctive Basque accent.

On the whole the image evoked in the Basque guise is more rounded than the one-sided Castilian one.

Trying to find common elements across speakers and guises in order to establish a well-marked consistent differentiated perceived image is not an easy task, because there is no consistent pattern across guises of qualities systematically rated higher in either of the two guises. However, there are some that, when present, *are* never across guises: 'Wealthy' is only to be found rated higher in Castilian, whereas 'Loyal' and 'Generous' are rated higher with the Basque language or accent. The dichotomy 'Hard' (= Castilian)/'Kind' (= Basque) is not seen across all villages and speakers but it seems to be fairly consistent in two villages. There are other traits which tend also to be present in two villages but not in the rest, such as 'Ambitious' rated higher in Castilian or 'Religious' varying in its higher ratings according to villages.

To try and verify whether a possible line of division in ratings between "Bascophone"/"non Basque speaking" areas could be established the villages were grouped by pairs. The results of significant contrasts are given below.

Table 56 : Significant contrasts between the Basque and the Castilian guises respectively in the villages grouped in pairs according to the number of Basque speakers in the area.

(a) Basque guise

Traits rated higher in Basque in the area with fewer Basque speakers

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious*	Ambitious*	-	Quiet*	Likeable*	-

Traits rated higher in Basque in the area with more Basque speakers

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Religious***	Religious***	Religious**	Kind*	-	Kind*
Generous**	Quiet*	Likeable*	-	-	Hard working*
Self-confident*	-	-	-	-	-

(c) Castilian guise

Traits rated higher in Basque in the area with fewer Basque speakers

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Likeable*	-	Kind*	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-
	-	Humour*	-	-	-

Traits rated higher in Basque in the area with more Basque speakers

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Earnest***	Enterprising*	Hard**	-	-	-
Religious**	Intelligent*	Earnest*	-	-	-
	Self-confident*	-	-	-	-

These results show that the Basque guise in the villages with more speakers of Basque is rated higher on the trait 'Religious' for the male speaker and 'Kind' for the female ones, while the Castilian guise gets higher ratings for the male speakers only and in traits mostly related to Competence.

In the villages with fewer Basque speakers the Basque guise is twice rated higher on the trait 'Ambitious', whereas the traits rated higher in the Castilian one are related to Social Attractiveness and Benevolence.

The number of significant contrasts is small. However it is worth remarking that the few to be found are mostly related to the male speakers and are totally non-existent in the Castilian guise for the female speakers.

The possibility of a difference in perception caused by the sex of the raters was next examined, and the significant contrasts according to the variable of sex are given below:

Table 57 : Significant contrasts between the Basque and Castilian guises according to the sex of the raters

(a) Basque guise

Traits rated higher by the girls

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
-	-	-	-	-	Wealthy*

Traits rated higher by the boys

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Kind**	Hard*	Hard*	Independent*	Loyal**	Quiet***
Peaceful**	-	-	-	Sociable**	Loyal**
-	-	-	-	Leader*	Earnest*

(b) Castilian guise

Traits rated higher by the girls

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
-	-	-	-	-	-

Traits rated higher by the boys

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Quiet*	Quiet***	Loyal*	Leader**	Peaceful**	Loyal*
Intransigent*	Kind**	Peaceful*	Humour**	Ambitious*	Religious*
Loyal*	Hard*	-	Religious**	Loyal*	-
Religious*	Generous*	-	Likeable**	Sociable*	-
-	Loyal*	-	Sociable**	-	-
-	Religious*	-	Kind*	-	-
-	-	-	Generous*	-	-
-	-	-	Loyal*	-	-

In both guises it is among the male subjects that traits are rated higher. However, the number of adjectives are much fewer for the Basque guise - as if there was more agreement between the sex groups - than with the Castilian guise.

With regard to the nature of the traits, they are spread across all areas of personality.

The last analysis of results was carried out taking into account the variable of age. The results are presented below:

Table 58 : Significant contrasts in the Basque and Castilian guises between the two different age groups of raters

(a) Basque guise

Traits rated higher by the younger group

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Wealthy*	Religious*	Peaceful*	Religious***	Religious***	Religious***
-	-	Religious*	Tall*	Wealthy**	Peaceful**
-	-	-		Hard working*	Humour**
-	-	-	-	-	Hard working**
-	-	-	-	-	Loyal*

Traits rated higher by the older group

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious***	Ambitious***	Ambitious***	Ambitious***	Ambitious***	Ambitious***
Enterprising**	Enterprising***	Enterprising***	Reserved***	Enterprising**	Enterprising**
Quiet**	Hard*	Earnest***	Earnest***	Reserved**	Earnest**
Reserved**	Sociable*	Independent**	Enterprising**	Earnest**	Hard*
Sociable*	-	Leader**	Quiet*	Quiet*	Independent*
-	-	Reserved*	Independent*	-	-
-	-	Sociable*	-	-	-
-	-	Hard*	-	-	-

(b) Castilian guise

Traits rated higher by the younger group

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Generous*	Wealthy** Leader*	Generous*** Religious***	Leader** Intransigent***	Intelligent*** Self-confident***	Generous*** Religious***
-	-	Peaceful*	Religious*	Humour***	Humour***
-	-	-		Tall**	Kind**
-	-	-		Kind**	Likeable**
-	-	-		Leader**	Tall*
-	-	-		Religious**	Hard working*
-	-	-		Likeable**	-
-	-	-		Hard working*	-
-	-	-		Sociable*	-

Traits rated higher by the older group

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
1	2	3	1	2	3
Ambitious***	Ambitious**	Ambitious***	Quiet***	Ambitious***	Ambitious***
Hard*	Reserved*	Hard***	Reserved***	Earnest***	Earnest***
Wealthy*	-	Enterprising***	Ambitious**	Quiet**	Hard**
Earnest*	-	Independent***	-	Reserved**	Reserved*
-	-	Leader*	-	-	Wealthy*

The contrasts indicate a more complex division in the results than the one obtained from the variable of sex. They vary not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. For example, irrespective of guise, 'Ambitious' is always rated higher by the older group while 'Religious' gets higher

scores from the younger group. Again, in the older group 'Earnest' is rated higher for most speakers in both guises. Across guises the older group rates 'Enterprising' higher in the Basque guise for all speakers.

However, can any common image be ascribed to either age group for the guises? The younger group seem to allocate very much the same adjectives across guises with a larger number of qualities rated higher for female speakers generally and in particular in the Castilian guise.

The older group presents very much the same stock of qualities across guises as if the choice were a response more to the qualities considered salient in a personality description by the group than caused by the stimulus of the guise.

7.4.5.1 Summing up

From the results obtained in this section the following conclusions may be derived:

- It is difficult to establish a clear cut stereotyped image of the Basque speakers, since the results are not replicated in all instances, and some speakers seem to evoke images of their own irrespective of the guise. Nevertheless, there are certain elements either present or absent that seem to sketch - even if in a low key - a latent description concordant with the findings of the Pilot Study.
- In an overall appreciation, the image obtained differs from other studies where there seems to be a radical

dichotomy between perceptions of speakers of different languages. The results in this case do not tend to support a significantly different impression of a speaker in a large number of ever present qualities related to personality that might portray him as better liked or more highly ranked in status. However, there are trends and tendencies that hint at some qualities either evoked or discarded in relation to the Basque guise. The Basque speakers appear to be rated more highly in qualities related to a good character and not lacking in resources to achieve success.

- The analysis of the role of different variables as possible sources of different interpretations of results seems to indicate that the village of origin does not play a large part in the perception of the Basque speakers. Traits of a positive nature are found equally in Barakaldo or in Igorre as if they were the established accepted orientation. However, there are particular images which are not shared in all the villages.

In the image of Basque speakers projected by the raters of the villages in the Bascophone area the only trait attributed to all male speakers among those few qualities more highly rated, is that of 'Religious'.

The findings of the Pilot Study are corroborated once more in that the age rather than the sex of the cases causes greater variation in results. The older group seems to project a more consistent image of the guises - slightly more so with the Basque one - across speakers as if the

pattern relied less on individual idiosyncrasies.

7.4.6 Evaluation of socioeconomic status

This last section (Appendix 7a, C-2b) of the questionnaire was designed as an attempt to obtain from the subjects their perception of the speakers not only in terms of their personal qualities but also of their status as measured by the job or profession assigned to them.

It should be noted that the assignment of different occupations to classifications on a scale, and even, the setting up of scales is always arbitrary¹⁵. When revising sociolinguistic studies, practically all have used different formulas for determining social class groups, although there is no strong evidence that these arrangements represent the actual social divisions of the community under study or their feelings on the matter. Therefore the 'translation' of the original answers of the cases into these scales represents a tentative attempt to try and organise the results from the present study in such a way that it would be easier to establish a comparison with similar ones.

Before establishing the final instrument of measurement, certain other sociolinguistic studies had been reviewed (Labov, 1966; Wolfram, 1969; Fasold, 1972; Trudgill, 1971, 1974; etc.) for orientation. An attempt was made to find the best way to present detailed results while avoiding too wide a range in scores which might make discussion of the results difficult in view of the low scores obtained.

15. Cf. Davis (1985).

The review of these studies had a two-fold aim, namely to explore what information had been used to allocate socio-economic categories and how these divisions had been scaled.

Buchanan and Cantril in 1953 had already commented that:

"Richard Centers (survey) found occupation to be the most obviously related to class identification, with education and economic status also closely related" (16).

Other studies such as the ones mentioned above used more complex formulas rather than a single criterion. For example, they took into account information ranging from education and income to house type and dwelling areas. These composite indices are more laborious to obtain and, in Macaulay's opinion, it is not always self-evident that they yield better results than using a single measure¹⁷. Both devices, i.e. one single criterion - such as occupation - (e.g. Sharp et al., 1973; etc.) or an index based on different indicators, are used in sociolinguistic studies with different classification scales.

Sharp et al., in information on the socio-economic background of their cases in Wales, state that:

"the occupation of the father was the measure of the social class adopted"

(Sharp et al., 1973 : 21)

They used the same number of social classes in their five class scale as that used in the 1961 Census for Great

16. Buchanan and Cantril, H. (1953) : How Nations see Each Other. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, (p. 15).

17. Macaulay, R. K. S. (1973) : "Social Class and Language in Glasgow". Language in Society. 5. 173-188. (p. 185).

Britain and Northern Ireland, and one with seventeen categories for socio-economic groups.

MacKinnon in his study of a Scottish community - Harris - used a seven class scale and information on

"the occupational class of the parent"
(MacKinnon, 1977 : 82)

A few years before him Macaulay and Trevelyan in another study in Scotland - Glasgow - had used a four class scale

"the crudest and simplest indicator of social class was adopted, namely occupation"
(Macaulay & Trevelyan, 1973 : 21)

in order to speed up the selection of cases by choosing a simple single criterion rather than analysing a number of factors such as occupation, income, education, residence, and parents' social status when determining the social class in their study.

The Spanish Census was also consulted in which a nine-fold classification for 'Categoría Socio-Profesional' was employed similar to the class scale used in the SIADECO Report (Chapter 6).

At first, the answers to the last question of the Questionnaire:

"What job or profession do you think the person who has just spoken has?",

were examined using three different scales. They were as follows:

- a - Social class (5 classifications):
 1. Professional and Managerial
 2. Intermediate
 3. Skilled
 4. Partly skilled
 5. Others.

b - Socio-professional categories (9 classifications):

1. Professional and Managerial
2. Commercial and Industrial
3. Clerical and Technical
4. Skilled workers (Manual and Technical)
5. Part skilled workers
6. Agricultural and Fishing
7. Unskilled
8. Armed Forces
9. Others

c - Specific Job or Profession.

However, the results of this threefold analysis showed that the scores obtained in 'a' and 'b' were so similar that there was no point in giving the figures for both sections since the second one was practically a repetition of the first. Therefore, only the results for the first section 'a' - Social class - with more clustered figures and the ones for the last one 'c' - Job or Profession - will be given¹⁸.

Table 59 : Jobs and Professions assigned to speakers in their different guises.

Only the three highest percentages are given for each speaker in the different guises for the job or profession.

I. Social class group

	Prof. & Man.	Inter- mediate	Skilled	Part skilled & unskilled	Others	No answer
BMS1	30%			16%	35%	8%
CMS1	42%			14%	22%	
BFS1	33%	15%			31%	
CFS1	35%	17%			32%	
BMS2	33%			29%	22%	
CMS2	33%			28%	26%	
BFS2	28%	23%			32%	
CFS2	26%	21%			33%	
BMS3a	48%			13%	22%	
CMS3	56%				22%	
BFS3a	29%	22%			34%	
CFS3	22%	18%			45%	
BMS3b	53%		14%	14%	18%	
BFS3b	22%	18%			45%	

18. The professions of the speakers were

Male speaker 1 - Lawyer
Male speaker 2 - Teacher
Male speaker 3 - Student

Female speaker 1 - Teacher
Female speaker 2 - Teacher
Female speaker 3 - Teacher

II Job or Profession

BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
Priest 19%	Priest 9%	Teacher 17%	Housewife 20%
Worker/ Politician 13%	Worker 8%	Student 13%	Student 9%
Newsreader 7%	Politician/ Teacher 7%	Secretary 9%	Newsreader 7%

BMS2	CMS2	BFS2	CFS2
Worker 17%	Worker 12%	Student 19%	Student 26%
Priest 11%	Priest 12%	Housewife 11%	Secretary 12%
Teacher 7%	Teacher 7%	Secretary 10%	Teacher 9%

BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS3
Teacher 10%	Student 8%	Newsreader 12%	Student 26%	Student 29%	Student 35%
Politician 7%	News-reader 7%	Lawyer 11%	Secretary 10%	Teacher 15%	Secretary 9%
Journalist 6%	Journ-alist/ Lawyer 6%	Politician 8%	Teacher 10%	Secretary 8%	Teacher 6%

In this general appreciation the first noticeable difference is the variation in treatment as to social class grouping between male and female speakers - the first pair excepted. Secondly, higher percentages are seen in the allocation of specific jobs to the female speakers, as if they were more clearly perceived than their male counterparts.

When analysed across guises, it is the Castilian guise of the female speakers which once more obtains higher consensus in the results. This is the opposite of the tendency among the male speakers, with the exception of the

third one, where results are very close in both guises.

In respect of specific jobs there seems to be two clearly differentiated sets of jobs according to the sex of the speaker. The male speakers are perceived basically as 'Priest', 'Worker', 'Politician' or 'Teacher', while the jobs allocated to the female speakers range from 'Student', 'Housewife', 'Secretary' to 'Teacher', clearly reflecting a dichotomy in the choices.

When considering contrast between guises, there seems little difference in the overall appreciation. There is no sharp contrast with speakers of one guise consigned to jobs lower in status hierarchy as they tend to be matched or balanced in the scale.

When analysing the results across villages (Appendix 11i), the male speakers are not treated similarly across guises. In their Castilian guise the largest group is that related to managerial or professional activities, although with different rates of agreement. In their Basque guise however, except in the case of the third speaker where the difference across guises is not so obvious, the other two are treated differently. The Basque accent of the second speaker may be the cause of this since it may be responsible for his obtaining very similar images across guises. In the case of the female speakers, there is no common pattern across guises and speakers. The closest comparison is found in the second speaker, which may again be the result of her Basque accent in her Castilian guise.

In looking at the specific jobs, the percentages obtained from those assigned to the speakers are higher in the Basque guise for the male speakers in general - the third one excepted - as if they are being perceived more clearly, while the female speakers receive less conclusive results in this aspect.

In addition, the same division in respect of the allocation of jobs according to sex of speaker is present in all villages. Across guises the female speakers are equally rated, except in the case of the first speaker who is systematically described as 'Housewife' in her Castilian guise, rather than in any other activity. 'Student' seems to be the choice more often repeated for the other two speakers, irrespective of guises, and, to a lesser extent, that of 'Teacher' and 'Secretary'.

The male speakers - the third one excepted - receive more variation in their jobs across villages than in each village across guises. However, the term 'Politician' seems to be used more in all cases in the Basque guise than in the Castilian one. The Basque speaker most often described as 'Worker' is the one with the Basque accent, and the least often described as such is the youngest speaker who is attributed more professional jobs. There seems to be no clear images of speakers who are described as 'Worker' and by others as 'Manager', or 'Teacher' and 'Student' within the same guise. The term 'Priest', however, seems to be more employed by the two Bascophone villages, particularly Gernika, while 'Politician' occurs slightly more among the

two non-Bascophone villages.

With the information obtained from the four villages it is possible to investigate the image of the Basque speakers given by the villages from the Bascophone area, and from the other two. The jobs allocated by the former to the Basque speakers are not all that divergent to those of the Castilian speakers. However, there is more contrast in the perceptions of the latter villages across the guises where Barakaldo and Balmaseda render higher percentages of speakers described as 'Manual Worker' in their Basque guise than in the Castilian one.

The variables of sex and age seem to cause different variation in perception according to the sex of the speakers. While they cause variation in the perception of the male speakers, rating them differently across guises - although the Castilian one is closer across sex and age than the Basque one - the female speakers are rated differently from each other, but following similar patterns across guises for each speaker (Appendix 10ii).

The boys and the older group seem to perceive more difference between guises in the male speakers than the girls or the younger group. In the Castilian guise the speakers are assigned jobs from the Managerial and Professional group more than in their Basque guise. In the case of the speaker with the Basque accent, he is rated differently by the older group in his Castilian guise, but not by the boys who do not differentiate between guises.

However, the guises of the female speakers seem to cause no large variation in the allocation of social class group, each speaker being treated differently. The exception to this is the youngest speaker who was assigned a lower percentage of Professional/Managerial jobs in her Castilian guise.

When examining specific jobs, the female speakers in their Castilian guise seem to obtain an almost common image across sex and age, although in their Basque guise there is slightly less agreement, especially over the first speaker, where the Boys and Older group rate her as 'Student' and the rest as 'Teacher'. With the male speaker, the opposite seems to happen with the Basque guise obtaining more agreement for each speaker, where jobs assigned vary in their descriptions from 'Priest' to 'Worker' or 'Teacher' and 'Politician'. In the Castilian guise only two additions to these jobs are made: 'Lawyer' and 'Newsreader' which are both used to describe the youngest speaker.

7.4.6.1 Summing up

From the results obtained there seems to be a distinctive division in the allocation of jobs and professions to male and female speakers and this division is maintained across village, sex and age groups.

However, the two different guises seem to contribute to a much lesser extent in the variation of work activities. Although there is a hint in some cases towards higher social classes for the Castilian speakers, on the whole, and

especially when the results of the specific jobs are taken into account, there are not enough elements to sustain a discriminatory perception of the Basque speakers related to occupation, particularly in the case of the villages with the larger number of Basque speakers.

7.5 Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter give some support to the conclusions already advanced in the Pilot Study on the question of whether a possible stereotyped reaction to Basque speakers could be obtained from school teenagers of different villages in Bizkaia.

The results confirmed the previous findings of a particularly homogeneous sample as far as birthplace within the province is concerned. They also confirmed the attitude to Modern Languages with overall agreement on liking their study. Answers were equally homogeneous towards choice of the most useful language - English. However, this was not the case when rating the most beautiful, where Euskera was selected by roughly half the subjects of the villages from the Bascophone area, but not by the other two villages. This difference may be explained in terms already advanced in the Pilot Study, of a reassertion of their 'belongingness' to a language group. This possible active reaffirmation, or 'identification act' towards the Basque language is not repeated towards Castilian by the subjects from the other two villages who select other languages, for example, English, French or Euskera.

If the expression of readiness to take up the study of a language is to be interpreted as a positive attitude towards it, then it may be hypothesized that the image associated with its speakers might not be all that dissimilar. In this respect the answers towards willingness to study Euskera are in the majority, although utilitarian reasons should not be left aside either, as a possible driving force for their study.

In trying to set up some base lines of reference of the group under study for the values, the same division already seen in the Pilot Study seemed to be present. What might be labelled as a more subjective appraisal - likes and dislikes - was established in terms of Benevolence and Social Attractiveness and a more objective assessment of possible status - 'success' - was given in terms of Competence. It is precisely in terms of Competence that the Basque character is described by the answers obtained in this section, where the reluctance to respond to such a direct question as to what qualities the subjects associated with a given nationality is in line with the results for non-response obtained in similar instances in other contexts.

The remainder of the survey was concerned with attempting to elicit the views of the group of the Basque speakers in other ways (than that described above) and establishing a point of reference with the Castilian image. The results are as follows: The two different guises are associated with a different outline of stereotyped images for the male

speakers in which the Castilian one is more often described in terms of Competence and the Basque one in terms of Benevolence such as 'Kindness', although in some instances personal impressions seem to overcome those evoked by the guise. The images for the female speakers however do not seem to be altered either in their results by the variable of village.

In addition, the age of the raters seems to cause more variation in results than their sex, although the sex of the speakers decisively influences the way they are perceived by the subjects.

It is clear that in terms of agreement in the perception of the stereotyped images, the Castilian one is described in the same terms by a larger proportion of the cases than the Basque one, as if the image of the latter were more elusive or less permanently established or even more complex and so would present a more varied set of reactions which are less homogeneous than the Castilian one.

The results further show that the trend of a favourable attitude towards the Basque speakers - especially the male ones - as measured by statements on a scale of Social Distance, is echoed in the image obtained from isolated personality qualities, where the Basque guise emerges as rated more highly in qualities present in the portrayal of people liked and also of those likely to reach success. This tendency towards a positive appraisal is not substantially altered by the variable of 'Village', although the Basque male speakers are rated significantly as more 'Religious' by

the subjects from the Bascophone area, a description not repeated elsewhere.

Finally, when considering whether the presence of the qualities considered necessary for success is a good predictor of the perceived status of the speakers as measured in terms of job or profession, the results seem to offer some support for the conclusion that no substantially discriminatory pattern due to guise seems to be present among all the subjects, and least of all, among those from the Bascophone area, towards the Basque speakers. Furthermore, there is no evidence for such a pattern - even from the area with fewer Basque speakers - towards the females who project an equally balanced image of themselves in either guise. The source of any discriminatory treatment in their case seems to lie in the older group, the boys and the villages outside the Bascophone area which in some cases upgrade the Castilian guise.

The persistence of the trait 'Politician' in the descriptions might lead to adventure a comment on the measuring instrument as being sensitive to reflecting the context under study were it not for the caution due to the choice of passage selected for the study.

On the whole, a general assessment in view of the results of the survey might lead to the conclusion of the Basque speakers being well liked and slightly weaker in perceived status by certain sectors of the group under study. Nevertheless, this overall view should be interpreted with all the reservations discussed in the results.

In conclusion, the results of the main study reinforce those of the Pilot one: in both cases there is the presence of a fairly general favourable attitude towards the Basque language and its speakers, but a less homogeneous stereotyped image of the Basque speakers with no strong consensus among all the subjects under study.

CHAPTER 8

Follow-up Study

8.1 Introduction

In the years from 1978 up to 1986, some changes have taken place in the context where Euskera, the Basque language, is spoken. Some of these changes, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, affect the situation and status of Euskera within the educational system, others have more effect on its status and use in other domains of society. The present chapter was intended to examine whether these variations were reflected in the perception of Basque speakers by students of an Instituto in Plentzia¹, a village in Bizkaia not studied previously.

The investigation was carried out over a period of three years - 1983, 1984 and 1985 - with 212 cases who were in their first year at the Instituto. The aim of this study was, as outlined earlier, to investigate the extent, if any, to which changes in the environment might be reflected in the attitudinal reactions of these Secondary students to the Euskera speakers.

1. Plentzia: 26 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 2,951 (Census, 1975); 2,859, 2794, 2816 (Rectification to Census Dec. 31, 1982, 1983, 1984). 0%-25% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).

8.2 Sampling Procedure

8.2.1 Linguistic background

The linguistic background of the cases corresponded to the Bascophone area, with 60-80% of Euskera speakers in the area, as reported in the SIADECO report (1977) and in the Atlas Lingüístico del País Vasco (1984).

The location of the village in which the Instituto is is shown on the map below, together with different villages in the area from which the student population was drawn.



Figure 3

Villages to which the students of the 'Instituto de Plentzia' belong.

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| 1. Barrika | 4. Lemoiz |
| 2. Gorliz | 5. Sopela |
| 3. Laukiz | 6. Urdulitz |

Information on populations and groups of speakers is as follows:

- (1) Barrika: 24.2 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 777 (Census, 1975); 767, 737, 727 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 25% - 50% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).
- (2) Gorliz: 28 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 2,349 (Census, 1975); 2,979, 2,821, 2,654 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 25% - 50% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).
- (3) Laukiz: 22 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 1,031 (Census, 1975); 1,048, 1,063, 1,058 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 50% - 75% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).
- (4) Lemoiz: 17.1 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 888 (Census, 1975); 996, 966, 955 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 25% - 75% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).
- (5) Sopela: 21.5 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 4,601 (Census, 1975); 6,367, 6,514, 6,624 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 25% - 50% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).
- (6) Urdulitz: 24 kms from Bilbao. Inhabitants: 2,535 (Census, 1975); 2,666, 2,622, 2,621 (Rectification to Census, Dec. 31, 1982, 1983 and 1984). 25% - 50% of Basque speakers in the village (R. Olabuénaga, 1984).

8.2.2 Age and sex

For this three year study only one age group was selected. If a change of attitudes seems to take place at about 12 years of age², this population would already reflect the changes to be found among teenagers.

Therefore the interest of the study was not centered on a possible attitudinal shift between ages which would require a longitudinal study in development from 12 to 17, but on any possible variations within a given age group over the relatively short period of time - three years - in a situation of linguistic change.

In respect of sex, the sample reflects roughly the difference existing in the courses from which the subjects were drawn.

	<u>1983 - 1984</u>	<u>1984 - 1985</u>	<u>1985 - 1986</u>
BOYS	35%	42%	35%
GIRLS	65%	58%	65%

8.2.3 Questionnaires and administration

The format of the questionnaires was the same as the one used for the main survey and the Pilot Study, but with an addition related to English - liking, degree of knowledge and qualities related to the English 'character' (Appendix 12). The purpose was to explore a possible contrast of information in the reactions towards two different languages, obtained from the same population who might consider these either as two subjects on the school curriculum without any

2. Cf. Allport, G. W. (1945) : *The Nature of Prejudice*. p. 310.

obvious differentiating treatment or as two separate entities, the different perception of which might be established from the answers on the above areas.

The subjects were asked to take part in the experiment a few days prior to the beginning of the school year, and the same procedure discussed for the previous occasions was followed. The section on comments from the subjects about the task gave results very similar to those already mentioned in the same section in Chapters 6 and 7, and were without any remarkable additions.

8.3 Results and Discussion

8.3.1 Background

8.3.1.1 Sex and age

Table 60 shows the composition of the group, with an indication of the average age.

Table 60 : Age and Sex

	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
Female	74%	61.5%	65.8%
Male	26%	38.5%	34.2%
Average Age	14 yrs 6 months	14 yrs 7 months	14 yrs 3 months

As has already been mentioned, the inequality in numbers of boys and girls reflects quite closely the same difference in the Instituto registration roll.

8.3.1.2 Birthplace

Table 61 presents the answers to the question on birthplace.

Table 61 : Birthplace

	Village	County	Others	No Answer	Total
Plentzia 83	7 = 10.2%	59 = 85.5%	3 = 4.3%	0	= 69
Plentzia 84	13 = 18.5%	54 = 77.2%	2 = 2.8%	1 = 1.5%	= 70
Plentzia 85	11 = 15.1%	58 = 79.5%	3 = 4.1%	1 = 1.3%	= 73
	31 (14.8%)	171 (81.4%)	8 (3.8%)	2 (2.8%)	212

The total number of cases not born in the county is only 3.8% of the total. Having explained the situation of the Instituto, that of serving an area, it is not surprising to find only 14.8% of students coming from the village itself, and the largest proportion belonging to the neighbouring villages.

8.3.1.3 Liking of languages

Table 62 sums up the answers to their attitudes about learning modern languages.

Table 62 : Attitudes towards studying Modern Languages

Like	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
YES	61 (89.7%)	49 (70.0%)	45 (65.2%)
NO	7 (10.3%)	21 (30.0%)	24 (34.8%)

Although the number of cases who said they liked the study of modern languages was considerable, there was a steady decline in the percentages over the three years.

8.3.1.4 Languages thought beautiful

By comparison, the opposite trend is to be found in the number of cases who choose Euskera as the most beautiful language, with a steady rise in the percentages. Table 63 presents the results of the three choices selected by the cases.

Table 63 : Languages thought beautiful. (Percentages)

	Plentzia 83			Plentzia 84			Plentzia 85		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
ENGLISH	37.6%	43.5%		32.8%	38.5%	16.4%	42.4%	41.0%	13.6%
EUSKERA	39%		23%	40%	22.8%		50.6%	23.2%	
FRENCH		26.0%	26%			31.5%			50.6%
OTHERS	23.4%	30.5%	51%	27.2%	38.7%	52.1%	7%	35.8%	35.8%

The most notable result is the total absence of Castilian in the more popular choices. In addition to Euskera, which is the top first choice in all three years, English and French are the languages selected most often³.

In general terms, there is far more agreement for the first choices than for the second or third options, where although no language reaches a high figure, added together they represent in two instances more than 50% of the total.

8.3.1.5 Languages thought useful

The position of Euskera as a useful language does not parallel the perception of its beauty. Euskera is not seen as the most useful language. English is the top first choice

3. Only 13% in 1983, 12% in 1984 and 2.7% in 1985 select Castilian in their first choice and much smaller percentages are rendered as second and third choices.

of 60% or more of the subjects. Although Euskera only rated 26% over all choices in 1983, this has risen to 75% in 1985. Table 64 gives the full results.

Table 64 : Languages thought useful. (Percentages)

	Plentzia 83			Plentzia 84			Plentzia 85		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
CASTILIAN		27.5%	20.2%						19.0%
ENGLISH	66.6%	27.5%		60.0%	28.5%		61.6%	37.0%	
EUSKERA	26.0%			24.2%		25.7%	30.0%	26.0%	19.0%
FRENCH		31.8%	43.4%		24.2%	41.4%			48.0%
OTHERS	7.4%	13.2%	36.4%	15.8%	47.3%	32.9%	8.4%	37.0%	14.0%

The Chi square test carried out to analyse whether there might be any relationship between the choices for beauty and usefulness yielded non-significant results.

8.3.1.6 Euskera difficult

After discussing Modern Languages in general, the next section of the questionnaire dealt with aspects related to Euskera and, to a lesser extent, with English. The first question corresponded to perceived difficulty of the former and the results are roughly equally divided between 'yes' and 'no'. Thus representing no great change over time.

Table 65 : Euskera difficult

	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
YES	52.9%	48.4%	50.8%
NO	47.1%	51.6%	49.2%

However, when the results on whether English was considered difficult are compared, a change over time is seen in perceived difficulty.

Table 66 : English difficult

	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
YES	46.4%	54.3%	63.5%
NO	52.2%	45.7%	32.5%
No Answer	1.4%	-	4.0%

There is a steady rise in the percentages of positive answers from one year to the following contrary to the absence of trend in the answers corresponding to Euskera.

8.3.1.7 Difficulty and study of Euskera

The next question was an interesting follow-up to these answers.

Table 67 gives the answers to willingness of the cases to learn Euskera. The positive answers reached extremely high figures bearing in mind the number of cases who had perceived Euskera as difficult.

Table 67 : Difficulty and Study of Euskera

D I F F I C U L T Y	L E A R N E U S K E R A						
		Plentzia 83		Plentzia 84		Plentzia 85	
		YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
	YES	46.9%	6.0%	43.4%	5.0%	47.7%	3.1%
	NO	45.5%	1.6%	51.6%	0.0%	49.2%	0.0%
		92.4%	7.6%	95.0%	5.0%	96.9%	3.1%

The positive answers to learning Euskera are very evenly divided between those who say they want to learn it and perceive it as difficult and those who do not consider it to be so. A Chi square test on the relationship between appreciated difficulty and wish to learn the language did not give a significant result in any of the three groups.

If these results are compared to the answers given on the question of whether the subjects were willing to study English, the answers to which are presented in Table 68, there is a slight divergence between the two sets of answers.

Table 68 : Study of English

	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
YES	95.7%	91.5%	91.9%
NO	2.9%	2.8%	2.7%
No Answer	1.4%	5.7%	5.4%

Although both sets of positive answers reach very high percentages - over 90% - the ones relating to Euskera show a small increase in contrast to a similar small decrease in those of English.

8.3.1.8 Self-reported knowledge of Euskera

The high numbers stating a wish to learn the language lends itself to the question of how proficient the cases were in Euskera and English. Table 69 shows the information given by the cases, when requested to make their own assessment of their knowledge of Euskera.

Table 69 : Self-reported knowledge of Euskera. (Percentages)

		NOT AT ALL	VERY LITTLE	SOME- THING	QUIET	A LOT	PERFEC- TLY
Plentzia 83	Understand	10.1%	34.7%	36.2%	14.4%	2.8%	1.4%
	Speak	46.3%	33.3%	8.6%	7.2%	2.8%	1.4%
	Read	39.1%	23.1%	24.6%	10.1%	1.4%	1.4%
	Write	31.8%	24.6%	21.7%	8.6%	5.7%	0.0%
Plentzia 84	Understand	12.8%	37.1%	24.2%	12.8%	8.5%	4.2%
	Speak	40.0%	30.0%	12.8%	12.8%	2.8%	0.0%
	Read	31.4%	35.7%	24.2%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	Write	27.1%	37.1%	21.4%	7.1%	2.8%	0.0%
Plentzia 85	Understand	2.7%	9.5%	58.9%	20.5%	5.4%	2.7%
	Speak	20.5%	31.5%	36.9%	4.1%	6.8%	0.0%
	Read	32.8%	13.6%	35.6%	13.6%	4.1%	0.0%
	Write	15.0%	20.5%	36.9%	21.9%	5.4%	0.0%

The most obvious feature in the table is the shift experienced in the highest percentages for each skill. In 1983, all the highest percentages - except for Understanding - appeared under 'Not At All'. The following year Reading and Writing appeared to have gained some ground; and Speaking had improved its position too, while Understanding was reported as less proficient than in the previous year. By the year 1985, all the highest percentages are to be found under the category 'Something'.

Table 70 offers the results for total knowledge of Euskera once the answers for each skill have been added together.

Table 70 : Total self-reported knowledge of Euskera.

(Percentages)

Weak	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Plentzia 83	5.8%	11.6%	11.6%	10.1%	13.1%	8.8%	10.1%	= 71.1%
Plentzia 84	7.1%	10.1%	12.8%	8.6%	14.3%	11.4%	5.7%	= 70.0%
Plentzia 85	1.4%	5.5%	2.7%	4.1%	9.5%	11.0%	5.5%	= 39.0%
Medium	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Plentzia 83	7.3%	5.8%	4.3%	4.3%	2.9%	1.5%	0.0%	= 26.1%
Plentzia 84	7.1%	2.8%	5.8%	2.8%	4.3%	5.8%	0.0%	= 28.6%
Plentzia 85	21.9%	13.7%	5.5%	8.2%	4.1%	1.4%	0.0%	= 54.9%
High	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Plentzia 83	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	= 2.8%
Plentzia 84	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	= 1.4%
Plentzia 85	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	= 5.4%

The main change is the decrease in the percentage of weak subjects in 1985 compared to the two previous years and the complementary increase in the proportion in the medium band in 1985. If these results are compared with those obtained from the same self-assessment about English, the answers are distributed as follows:

Table 71 : Self-reported knowledge of English. (Percentages)

		NOT AT ALL	VERY LITTLE	SOME- THING	QUIET	A LOT	PERFEC- TLY
Plentzia 83	Understand	13.0%	33.3%	39.1%	14.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	Speak	42.0%	27.5%	26.0%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Read	28.9%	27.5%	21.7%	14.4%	2.8%	0.0%
	Write	0.0%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Plentzia 84	Understand	14.2%	42.8%	31.4%	11.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	Speak	44.2%	28.5%	22.8%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Read	32.8%	28.5%	28.5%	8.5%	0.0%	0.0%
	Write	27.1%	30.0%	30.0%	5.7%	1.4%	0.0%
Plentzia 85	Understand	8.2%	38.5%	36.9%	15.0%	1.3%	0.0%
	Speak	30.1%	39.7%	24.6%	4.1%	1.3%	0.0%
	Read	28.7%	24.6%	32.8%	9.5%	2.7%	0.0%
	Write	20.5%	27.3%	36.9%	10.9%	1.3%	0.0%

The results for the first two years seem to follow the same pattern as the ones obtained for Euskera. In the last year, although the group shows more confidence than the previous ones in their ability in both languages, the assessment of their own ability in Euskera is stronger, especially in the aural-oral skills.

When comparing total knowledge over all the skills, the result is even more divergent.

Table 72 : Total self-reported knowledge of English
(Percentages)

Weak	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Plentzia 83	7.3%	11.6%	10.1%	7.3%	17.3%	5.8%	2.9%	= 62.3%
Plentzia 84	10.2%	10.0%	12.8%	8.6%	11.5%	11.5%	7.1%	= 71.5%
Plentzia 85	4.1%	11.0%	8.2%	8.2%	11.0%	11.0%	6.8%	= 60.3%
Medium	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Plentzia 83	11.6%	7.3%	7.3%	4.3%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%	= 36.3%
Plentzia 84	7.1%	8.6%	10.0%	1.4%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	= 28.5%
Plentzia 85	11.0%	13.6%	4.1%	4.1%	4.1%	1.4%	0.0%	= 38.3%
High	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Plentzia 83	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	= 1.5%
Plentzia 84	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	= 0.0%
Plentzia 85	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	= 1.4%

The percentages for the three years in each band are not much different from one another, although the 1984 subjects assess themselves a little lower on the scale than those reported for Euskera in the first two years. This means that only the 1985 subjects rate themselves higher in Euskera than in English.

8.3.1.9 Results Euskera in June

The results obtained in Euskera and in English in June⁴, the marks, are summarised in the following Tables for each group.

Table 73 : Results Euskera June. (Percentages)

	0*	1	2	3	4	5
Plentzia 83	0.0%	10.1%	40.6%	21.7%	14.5%	13.0%
Plentzia 84	0.0%	24.3%	20.0%	15.7%	20.0%	20.0%
Plentzia 85	2.8%	8.5%	19.7%	23.9%	29.6%	15.0%

The results which should give information about the attained knowledge of the students are those falling into the higher end of the rating scale, from Good = Ongi/Bien up to Excellent = Ederki/Sobresaliente. In the first year 49.2% are rated between these two scores, 55.7% in the second year, and 68.5% in the third one.

This increase in better scores follows to an even greater extent the trend in self-reported knowledge. However, a Chi square test between knowledge of Euskera and final results in June did not yield significant results in any of the three years. There are a number of different possible explanations for this, including some from the pedagogical situation. Generally no student could be failed in Euskera if that was his one weak subject, thus masking the 'real' results. However, these marks will be contrasted with the ones obtained by the same cases in English.

4. These results were taken from the school academic records of the cases.

*. 0 = Gutxiago/Muy Deficiente = Very Poor 1 = Gutxi/Insuficiente = Poor
 2 = Nahiko/Suficiente = Average 3 = Ongi/Bien = Good
 4 = Oso Ongi/Notable = Very Good 5 = Ederki/Sobresaliente = Excellent

Table 74 : Results English June. (Percentages)

	0*	1	2	3	4	5
Plentzia 83	0.0%	29.0%	33.3%	17.5%	10.1%	10.1%
Plentzia 84	2.8%	42.2%	23.9%	14.1%	7.1%	9.9%
Plentzia 85	9.7%	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%	13.8%	9.7%

Since the number of variables to be taken into account in trying to establish any comparison between the Euskera results and the English ones makes it almost impossible to attempt to comment, it can only be said that there is a much smaller improvement in better scores which vary from 37.3% in the first year, 31.1% in the second, to 45.7% in the last one.

This result is in line with the trend in the results of the self-assessment of their knowledge. Although the objective of this work was not in the area of attitudes and attained proficiency (where controlled standardized tests would have been used), both the subjective answers of the pupils, and the more objective 'final results' given by the teachers seem to point towards a prevailing improvement in knowledge of Euskera - all considerations and caveats to such a generalized statement granted - which leads to more proficient students reaching their first year at the Instituto.

The same conclusion however, is not valid for their knowledge of English, the other language used in this comparison, and the situation seems to be more stable not only in the perception of the students but also in their final results.

* Same scale as for Euskera

8.3.1.10 Summing up

The information obtained in this first part of the Questionnaire can be summarized as follows:

- The three groups of subjects were somewhat unbalanced as to the composition of boys and girls, reflecting the inequality existing in the registration roll of the Instituto. They were well balanced as to the average age in the three years, and practically all the cases had been born in the county.
- The study of Modern Languages, although liked by a majority of the cases, was favoured in successive years by a smaller number of students.
- Euskera was thought to be the most beautiful language and English the most useful one, but there was more agreement about usefulness than about beauty.
- The opinions on Euskera being difficult were established at about 50%, although even the cases who recognised its difficulty expressed their willingness to learn it.
- The results of the self-assessed knowledge of Euskera, offered a more confident image from the speakers in their four skills particularly in the third year, while the answers to the same assessment of their English was not so optimistic.
- The results in June for both languages showed a steady increase in scores above the pass mark in Euskera which were not paralleled in English to the same extent. The scores also reflected the answers of the self-assessment report in both cases, offering similar conclusions

whether obtained from the more subjective way of self-report or with the more objective information of the final results.

8.3.2 Quality appraisal

As on the two previous occasions, the subjects were asked to establish their own preferences on qualities they liked and disliked in people, qualities they considered necessary to obtain success, and finally in an attempt to elicit stereotyped images, they were asked to write down the qualities they associated with the 'Basque character' and the 'English character'.

The data obtained were treated along the lines explained in Chapter 7, and the results are discussed below.

8.3.2.1 Likes

Table 75 : Qualities liked in people

		Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
I	1.	Likeable (39.1%)	True (30.0%)	Likeable (26.0%)
	2.	True (17.4%)	Likeable (15.7%)	With Personality (22.0%)
	3.	With Personality (14.5%) (m.c. = 1.4%)	With Personality (11.4%) (m.c. = 4.3%)	Honest (20.5%) (m.c. = 9.6%)
II	1.	Kind (18.8%)	Likeable (20.0%)	Likeable (17.8%)
	2.	Likeable (13.0%)	Kind (14.3%)	Honest (11.0%)
	3.	- (m.c. = 13.0%)	- (m.c. = 14.3%)	Kind (9.6%) (m.c. 20.5%)
III	1.	Kind (17.4%)	Kind (11.4%)	Loyal (11.0%)
	2.	With Personality (15.9%)	Sense of Humour (10.0%)	Kind/Likeable (9.6%)
	3.	Likeable (13.0%) (m.c. = 17.4%)	- (m.c. = 15.7%)	- (m.c. = 24.7%)

First choices (Percentages)

	Competence	Benevolence	Social Attract.	Others	No Answer
Plentzia 83	21.6%	36.1%	40.5%	-	1.4%
Plentzia 84	18.6%	47.2%	21.5%	8.5%	4.3%
Plentzia 85	28.8%	28.7%	30.1%	2.7%	9.6%

The results show that the choice of qualities in general areas repeat those of previous work: adjectives related to 'Benevolence' and 'Social Attractiveness' are mostly selected, although in the last year, all areas achieve very similar results.

In respect of isolated choices 'Likeable', 'Sincere', and 'Kind' are mentioned as in the previous work, but 'With Personality' is repeated in all three years, a trait that had not occurred so prominently on other occasions.

8.3.2.2 Dislikes

Table 76 : Qualities disliked in people

		Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
I	1.	Conceited (17.4%)	Dishonest (24.3%)	Selfish (17.8%)
	2.	Dislikeable (13.0%)	Conceited (14.3%)	Conceited (15.1%)
	3.	-	Selfish (12.9%)	Dislikeable (13.7%)
		(m.c. = 2.9%)	(m.c. = 4.3%)	(m.c. = 12.3%)
II	1.	Mean (13.0%)	Conceited/ Dishonest (17.1%)	Dislikeable (13.7%)
	2.	Dishonest (13.0%)	Selfish (12.9%)	Conceited (12.3%)
	3.	-	-	Dishonest (11.0%)
		(m.c. = 7.2%)	(m.c. 20.0%)	(m.c. = 16.4%)
III	1.	Dishonest (21.7%)	Dishonest (11.4%)	Conceited (16.4%)
	2.	-	-	Dislikeable (9.6%)
		(m.c. = 15.9%)	(m.c. = 27.1%)	(m.c. = 28.8%)

First choices (Percentages)

	Competence	Benevolence	Social Attract.	Others	No Answer
Plentzia 83	30.3%	40.5%	24.4%	1.4%	2.9%
Plentzia 84	18.5%	18.6%	42.7%	15.7%	4.3%
Plentzia 85	21.9%	38.3%	22.0%	5.5%	12.3%

In this section on 'Dislikes' there is a change from the previous work in the areas selected. Previously it was the areas of 'Benevolence' and 'Competence' from which qualities were more often selected. On the present occasion, this section seems to offer a mirror image to those on 'Likings' for 'Benevolence' and 'Social Attractiveness' draw most of the answers in the three years. However, the choice of qualities is very similar on both occasions. 'Conceited', 'Selfish' and 'Dishonest' are first choices in both cases, with the addition of 'Dislikeable' in the latter one which explains to a certain extent the variation in percentage in the area of 'Social Attractiveness'.

8.3.2.3 Success

Table 77 : Qualities needed for success

		Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
I	1.	Likeable (21.7%)	Likeable (14.3%)	Likeable (19.2%)
	2.	Intelligent (17.4%)	Educated (12.9%)	Intelligent (17.8%)
	3.	Educated (13.0%) (m.c. = 5.8%)	Intelligent (11.4%) (m.c. = 10.0%)	- (m.c. = 17.8%)
II	1.	Kind (17.4%)	Intelligent (15.7%)	Likeable (12.3%)
	2.	-	Likeable (11.4%)	Intelligent (11.0%)
		(m.c. = 15.9%)	(m.c. = 12.9%)	(m.c. = 20.5%)
III	1.	Sociable (13.0%)	Intelligent (10.0%)	Likeable (9.6%)
	2.	-	-	Intelligent (8.2%)
		(m.c. = 17.4%)	(m.c. = 18.6%)	(m.c. = 28.8%)

First choices (Percentages)

	Competence	Benevolence	Social Attract.	Others	No Answer
Plentzia 83	53.5%	12.9%	23.1%	4.3%	5.8%
Plentzia 84	48.5%	18.5%	18.6%	4.2%	10.0%
Plentzia 85	35.6%	16.4%	23.4%	6.9%	17.8%

The results in this section, although following the same pattern as on the previous occasion (Chapter 7), show a few changes. In terms of general areas 'Competence' is the one most often mentioned, but with a decline in the percentages over the three years. 'Intelligent' is mentioned pervasively in all positions of choice, but it is a different quality, 'Likeable' which is top first choice according to the percentages obtained. The inclusion of 'Educated' is a novelty in the list of first choices in at least two years, and had not been mentioned before in any position of relevance.

8.3.2.4 Basque character

Table 78 : Qualities related to the Basque character

		Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
I	1.	No Answer (15.9%)	No Answer (34.3%)	No Answer (31.1%)
	2.	Independent/ Likeable (10.1%)	Earnest (10.0%)	Rude (9.6%)
II	1.	No Answer (20.3%)	Strong/Good (5.7%)	Honest/ Likeable (6.8%)
	2.	Hard working (10.1%)		
III	1.	No Answer (27.5%)	No Answer (52.9%)	No Answer (37.0%)
	2.	Independent (10.1%)	True/Good (5.7%)	Loyal (9.6%)

First choices (Percentages)

	Competence	Benevolence	Social Attract.	Others	No Answer
Plentzia 83	35.7%	8.6%	33.2%	5.7%	15.9%
Plentzia 84	9.9%	18.5%	27.1%	10.1%	34.3%
Plentzia 85	13.8%	17.9%	24.7%	13.7%	30.1%

The number of 'No answer' replies is the first result requiring comment. Although in the first year, the number of 'missing cases' is not so high, the percentages in the next two years, even taking into account only those of first choice, are more substantial than in the previous surveys. In the present case study qualities are not primarily drawn from the 'Competence' area, but from 'Social Attractiveness', except in the first year. The choice of individual qualities with highest percentages is very varied and, although the first year repeats some of the qualities mentioned in the previous work, like 'Independent', and 'Likeable', the last year offers choices not found before such as 'Rude'.

Table 79 : Qualities related to the English character

		Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
I	1.	No Answer (30.4%)	No Answer (54.3%)	No Answer (52.1%)
	2.	Kind/Likeable (7.2%)	Earnest/Elegant (10.0%)	Elegant (8.2%)
II	1.	No Answer (29.0%)	No Answer (50.0%)	No Answer (50.7%)
	2.	Likeable (13.0%)	Earnest (7.1%)	Joyful (5.8%)
III	1.	No Answer (31.9%)	No Answer (62.9%)	No Answer (52.1%)
	2.	Kind (13.0%)	Educated (17.1%)	Earnest (12.3%)

First choices (Percentages)

	Competence	Benevolence	Social Attract.	Others	No Answer
Plentzia 83	22.9%	11.5%	28.7%	5.8%	30.4%
Plentzia 84	12.9%	7.1%	15.7%	10.0%	54.3%
Plentzia 85	11.0%	9.6%	16.5%	10.9%	52.1%

When examining qualities related to 'English character' in this last section the most noticeable result - as in the previous section - is the high percentages of 'No answer' replies to the direct question of opinion about the 'English character'. The answers given for all the years are higher for 'Social Attractiveness' but are spread over all areas. The choice of isolated qualities is very unlike those related to the 'Basque character' pointing to two possible different images. However, the small level of agreement among subjects reflected in the low percentages obtained in each case does not make it worthwhile to elaborate such a contrast. It seems rather to support the rejection of direct questioning on stereotypes referred to earlier on.

8.3.2.5 Summary

The results can be very briefly summed up in the light of the previous findings in the same area. The dichotomy between 'Likes' and 'Dislikes' in terms of 'Benevolence' and 'Social Attractiveness' on the one hand and 'Success' in terms of 'Competence' remains operative but with certain qualifications. The results seem to allocate a less prominent role to the area of 'Competence' than that previously assigned. The replies to direct questions on 'nationality stereotypes' - Basque and English - confirm the lack of success in eliciting answers to this type of question.

In respect of the choice of isolated qualities, there is basically a repetition of the same adjectives except for two new additions such as 'With Personality' among the qualities

liked in people and 'Educated' among those necessary to become successful. Among those related to the Basque character, the main result is the variation not only from the previous study but within the results of the three year period. Finally, a comparison of these results with those obtained on the 'English character' seems to point to a different image of the two, but basically confirms the low level of response to such a method of eliciting information on a topic.

8.3.3 Stereotype projection

8.3.3.1 Impressions of personality

In this section the subjects were asked to enumerate the first three qualities that the speakers evoked in them following the same order and instructions that were used for the Main Survey. The tables below give the results corresponding to the three years.

Table 80 : 'Stereotype' adjectives in open end labelling

(a)

Plentzia 83					
		BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
I	1.	Peaceful/ Earnest/ No Answer (10.1%)	Tall (14.5%)	Kind (18.8%)	Short (21.7%)
	2.		Hard (13.0%)		
	3.		Earnest/ Likeable (8.7%)		
II	1.	Likeable (11.6%)	Kind/Tall/ Strong/No Answer (8.8%)	No Answer (10.1%)	Kind (15.9%)
	2.				
III	1.	Hard working (14.5%)	No Answer (13.0%)	No Answer (15.9%)	No Answer (10.1%)
	2.		Likeable (10.1%)		

Plentzia 84					
		BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
I	1.	Earnest (18.6%)	No Answer (21.4%)	Earnest/ No Answer (15.7%)	No Answer (17.1%)
	2.	No Answer (17.1%)	Earnest (18.6%)	Kind (11.4%)	Likeable (17.1%)
	3.	Likeable (1.4%)	Likeable (10.0%)	Kind (11.4%)	
II	1.	Kind (11.4%)	No Answer (11.4%)	Silent (11.4%)	No Answer (14.3%)
	2.	No Answer (10.0%)	Earnest (10.0%)	Intelligent (10.0%)	Likeable (10.0%)
	3.	Intelligent/ Earnest (8.6%)		Kind (8.6%)	Kind (8.6%)
III	1.	No Answer (20.0%)	No Answer (17.1%)	No Answer (21.4%)	No Answer (15.7%)
	2.	Hard working/ Likeable (11.4%)	Hard working/ Sociable (8.6%)	Intelligent (11.4%)	Intelligent (10.0%)
	3.			Earnest (8.6%)	Kind/Likeable (8.6%)

Plentzia 85					
		BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
I	1.	Kind (19.2%)	Earnest (23.3%)	Peaceful (12.3%)	Kind/Shy (11.0%)
	2.	No Answer (13.7%)	Likeable (11.0%)	Earnest/ Likeable (11.0%)	Earnest (9.6%)
	3.	Likeable (11.0%)	Kind (9.6%)	Silent (9.6%)	Likeable/ Silent (8.2%)
II	1.	Kind (13.7%)	Earnest/No Answer (11.0%)	Earnest (15.4%)	Kind (13.7%)
	2.	Earnest (11.0%)	Intelligent (8.2%)	Hard working (9.6%)	Sociable/ Silent (8.2%)
	3.	No Answer (9.6%)	Hard/Likeable/ Sociable (6.8%)	Kind/No Answer (8.2%)	
III	1.	Sociable (12.3%)	Kind (10.7%)	Earnest/ Likeable/ No Answer (9.6%)	Sociable (11.0%)
	2.	Kind/No Answer (11.0%)	Hard/Hard working/No Answer (6.8%)	Sociable (8.2%)	Kind/No Answer (8.2%)

Table 80a shows the adjectives selected to describe the first pair. If the results for both speakers are contrasted, in the first year, the female speaker is described primarily as 'Kind' with a more varied choice of adjectives for the male speaker. Across guises, the contrast 'Kind/Hard' so frequently present in the contrast between the Basque and the Castilian guises, is not so definite here, since in the latter both 'Hard' and 'Kind' are used.

In the second year, the female speaker is described not only as 'Kind' but obtains a fuller description with repetition of 'Earnest' and 'Intelligent' in her Basque guise and 'Likeable' in the Castilian one. The male speaker is described in very similar terms across guises with emphasis in both cases on 'Earnest' and 'Likeable', with the addition of 'Kind' for the Basque guise.

In the last year, the image of the female speaker is in line with the one of the previous year, with a variety of adjectives to do with Competence and Social Attractiveness as well as 'Kind'. Across guises 'Kind' gets higher percentages in the Castilian guise. As for the male speaker, although in his Basque guise 'Kind' is consistently mentioned, there seems to be fluctuation between 'Kind' and 'Hard' in his Castilian one.

(b)

Plentzia 83					
		BMS2	CM52	BFS2	CFS2
I	1.	Earnest (17.4%)	No Answer (13.0%)	Fat (18.8%)	Earnest/ Short (14.5%)
	2.	Hard (11.0%)	Earnest(10.1%)	Short (11.6%)	
	3.			No Answer (7.2%)	
II	1.	No Answer (13.0%)	No Answer (13.0%)	Earnest/ Short/Fat (11.6%)	Likeable/ Sociable/ No Answer (7.2%)
	2.	Hard (7.2%)	Kind (10.1%)	Kind (7.2%)	
III	1.	Earnest (8.7%)	No Answer (14.5%) Kind (10.0%)	No Answer (14.5%) Kind/Short/ Fat (7.2%)	Kind (13.0%)

Plentzia 84					
		BMS2	CM52	BFS2	CFS2
I	1.	Earnest (25.7%)	No Answer (22.9%)	No Answer (15.7%)	No Answer (21.4%)
	2.	No Answer (24.3%)	Earnest (20.0%)	Earnest (14.3%)	Earnest (12.9%)
	3.		Likeable(7.1%)	Kind (8.6%)	Kind (11.4%)
II	1.	No Answer (25.7%)	No Answer (10.0%)	No Answer (17.1%)	No Answer (14.3%)
	2.	Earnest (8.6%)	Hard/Earnest (7.1%)	Likeable (8.6%)	Earnest (8.6%)
	3.			Short (7.1%)	Silent (7.1%)
III	1.	No Answer (25.7%)	No Answer (10.0%)	No Answer (15.7%)	No Answer (24.3%)
	2.	Intelligent/ Kind (8.6%)	Likeable (10.0%)	Earnest (8.6%)	Kind (14.3%)
	3.	Likeable (7.1%)	Kind (8.6%)		Intelligent (7.1%)

Plentzia 85					
		BMS2	CM52	BFS2	CFS2
I	1.	Earnest (31.5%)	Earnest (15.1%)	Earnest (26.0%)	Earnest/ Sociable (13.7%) Kind (12.3%)
	2.	Intelligent (8.2%)	Likeable (9.6%)	Kind (11.0%)	
	3.		Independent/ Kind (8.2%)		
II	1.	Earnest (17.8%)	Earnest (15.1%)	Earnest/ Sociable (11.0%)	Kind (12.3%) Likeable (11.0%) Peaceful/ No Answer (9.6%)
	2.	Kind/No Answer (11.0%)	No Answer (11.0%)	Intelligent (8.2%)	
	3.	Hard/ Sociable (9.6%)	Kind/Sociable (8.2%)	Kind/Likeable/ No Answer (6.8%)	
III	1.	Hard/No Answer (8.2%)	Sociable(8.2%) Hard/Likeable/ No Answer (9.6%)	Sociable(13.7%) Hard working (11.0%)	Joyful (13.7%) Kind/No Answer (8.2%)
	2.	Kind (6.8%)			
	3.			No Answer (9.6%)	

The results of the same period for the second couple are given in Table 80, section b:

In the first year, the female speaker presents a noticeable contrast between guises. While adjectives such as 'Kind' and 'Earnest' are still present there is an insistence on those related to physical description, especially so in her Basque guise. As for the male speaker, there is a change in the use of the adjectives 'Kind'/'Hard'. 'Hard' is found more often in the Basque guise while 'Kind' is given more pre-eminence in the Castilian one.

In the second year, the description of the female speaker returns to traits not so centered on physique. 'Earnest' and 'Kind' are mentioned in both guises with different percentages. The male speaker is mainly described as 'Earnest' and in the Castilian guise as both 'Hard' and 'Kind'. However, the highest figures in this case correspond to the 'No Answer' section.

In the last year, the female speaker is described as 'Earnest' and 'Kind' in both guises, complementing this image with adjectives mainly related to Social Attractiveness. The male speaker repeats in both guises the description of 'Kind' and 'Hard' within each guise, as if the image were confused. In addition, both male and female speakers conform to the same trend in the Basque guise where they receive higher percentages for 'Earnest'.

(c)

Plentzia 83					
		BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
I	1.	Earnest (20.3%)	Earnest (20.3%)	Kind (20.3%)	Earnest (15.9%)
	2.	Hard/Tall (13.0%)		No Answer (10.01%)	Tall (14.5%)
	3.				Kind (10.1%)
II	1.	Earnest (14.5%)	Earnest (13.0%)	Likeable/ Tall (11.6%)	Kind (10.1%)
	2.	Tall/No Answer (8.7%)		Kind/No Answer (8.7%)	Likeable (8.7%)
III	1.	Kind (10.1%)	No Answer (11.6%)	Sociable (13.0%)	No Answer (15.9%)
	2.	Sociable/No Answer (7.2%)		Intelligent (11.6%)	Sociable (10.2%)
	3.				Likeable (7.2%)

Plentzia 84					
		BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
I	1.	Earnest (24.3%)	Earnest (30.0%)	Likeable (15.7%)	Earnest (24.3%)
	2.	No Answer (14.3%)	No Answer (11.4%)	Kind (12.9%)	No Answer (18.6%)
	3.		Intelligent/ Likeable (8.6%)	No Answer (11.4%)	Kind (7.1%)
II	1.	No Answer (12.9%)	Kind (11.4%)	Kind (12.9%)	No Answer (11.4%)
	2.	Intelligent (10.0%)	Intelligent/ Likeable (10.0%)	No Answer (11.4%)	Earnest (10.0%)
	3.	Tall (8.6%)	Tall/Earnest No Answer (7.1%)	Intelligent/ Likeable (8.6%)	
III	1.	No Answer (17.1%) Intelligent/ Earnest/ Silent (7.1%)	No Answer (18.6%) Kind (11.4%)	Sociable (10.0%) No Answer/ Intelligent (8.6%)	No Answer (18.6%) Likeable (5.7%)
	2.		Intelligent/ Sociable (7.1%)		

Plentzia 85					
		BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
I	1.	Earnest (35.6%)	Earnest (31.5%)	Kind (13.7%)	Earnest (21.9%)
	2.	Hard (12.3%)	Likeable (12.3%)	Likeable (12.3%)	No Answer (9.6)
	3.	Intelligent (6.8%)	Hard (9.6%)	Shy (11.0%)	Intelligent/ Kind/Likeable/ Silent (6.8%)
II	1.	Hard (17.8%)	Earnest (13.7%)	Intelligent (12.3%)	Kind (13.7%)
	2.	Kind/Earnest (9.6%)	Kind/No Answer (11.0%)	Kind/Likeable/ Sociable/ Pleasant (8.2%)	Earnest (12.3%)
	3.	No Answer (6.5%)	Sociable (9.6%)		Silent (11.0%)
III	1.	Hard working (11.0%)	No Answer (13.7%)	Kind (16.4%)	Kind/Earnest (8.2%)
	2.	Hard/ Intelligent/ Kind/ Sociable/ No Answer (6.8%)	Intelligent/ Sociable (9.6%)	Sociable/ No Answer (9.6%)	Ambitious/ Generous/ Peaceful/ Sociable (6.8%)

(d)

Plentzia 83		
	BMS3b	BFS3b
I	Earnest (14.5%) Fat/No Answer (10.1%)	Likeable (18.8%) No Answer (15.9%) Short (11.6%)
II	Earnest/No Answer (8.7%)	Likeable (15.9%) Kind (13.0%) No Answer (8.7%)
III	Kind (11.6%) Hard/No Answer (8.7%)	Kind (20.3%) No Answer (14.5%)

Plentzia 84		
	BMS3b	BFS3b
I	Earnest (14.6%) No Answer (12.9%) Hard (10.0%)	No Answer (30.0%) Likeable (15.7%) Kind (10.0%)
II	No Answer (11.4%) Hard working/Short (7.1%)	No Answer (14.3%) Likeable (8.6%) Kind/Earnest/Agreeable (7.1%)
III	No Answer (17.1%) Intelligent (7.1%)	No Answer (14.3%) Kind (10.0%) Generous (7.1%)

Plentzia 85		
	BMS3b	BFS3b
I	Earnest (26.0%) Hard (9.6%) No Answer (8.2%)	Earnest (19.2%) Likeable (11.0%) Kind/Shy (8.2%)
II	Intelligent/Likeable (9.6%) Kind/Sociable (8.2%)	Kind (12.3%) No Answer (11.0%) Intelligent (9.6%)
III	Hard working/Kind (11.0%) Likeable/No Answer (8.2%) Hard/Sociable (6.8%)	Sociable (11.0%) Kind/No Answer (8.2%) Intelligent/Earnest (6.8%)

The results for the third couple are summarised in Table 80c. In the first year the female speaker is described in the usual terms of Kindness and Social Attractiveness, although the first quality with the highest percentage in the Castilian guise is 'Earnest' while the emphasis in the Basque is on 'Kind'. The male speaker evokes the trait of 'Earnest' in both his guises, although in the case of the Basque guise he is described with such disparate adjectives as 'Hard' and 'Kind'.

In the second year the same division observed above between guises in the female speaker is maintained. However, there is a higher percentage for 'Earnest' in the Castilian guise than in the Basque one, and there is mention of 'Intelligent', a trait not found in its Castilian counterpart. The male speaker is rated in terms of trustworthiness and Intelligence in both guises, although in the Castilian one Kindness is repeatedly mentioned.

In the last year, the stress on the difference in emphasis between 'Kind' and 'Earnest' referred to above for the female speaker is still present, despite the fact that

'Earnest' in the Basque guise does not reach percentages above 5%, while 'Kind' in the Castilian one gets scores high enough to be included among the most popular choices. The trait 'Earnest' is recurrent once more in the description of the male speaker in the final year. A complex image of two opposite terms, such as 'Kind'/'Hard', is employed again for him within each guise. These terms are complemented in both guises with others from the Competence and Social Attractiveness areas.

The qualities in the Biscayan guise, although following the same trends as those mentioned for Batua, obtain lower scores as if there were less agreement on the image, translated into a higher dispersion of traits rated.

(e) Areas of Personality:

First choices (Percentages)

	COMPETENCE			BENEVOLENCE			SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS		
	83	84	85	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
BMS1	34.6	32.9	13.6	21.8	14.3	30.2	31.8	32.7	41.1
CMS1	46.3	38.5	41.1	7.3	4.2	21.9	36.1	31.3	30.1
BFS1	26.1	25.8	30.3	27.5	17.1	24.5	36.1	38.5	39.7
CFS1	14.4	29.9	28.7	10.2	8.6	22.0	57.8	41.3	45.2
BMS2	43.5	55.5	49.4	13.1	7.3	13.7	28.8	12.7	26.0
CMS2	24.6	34.3	41.2	8.6	7.1	15.1	49.2	35.7	36.8
BFS2	30.3	27.0	42.4	2.9	15.7	16.5	57.9	40.0	31.5
CFS2	39.1	32.9	31.5	14.5	12.8	27.4	31.8	32.7	34.3
BMS3a	48.9	54.2	64.3	2.9	8.6	11.0	31.8	20.1	22.0
CMS3	50.5	54.1	57.5	5.9	9.9	10.8	34.8	22.8	28.9
BFS3a	20.3	21.3	31.4	24.7	18.6	22.0	37.3	44.2	38.4
CFS3	30.3	47.2	45.2	17.4	9.9	15.0	41.9	21.3	26.0
BMS3b	38.9	38.5	56.1	5.9	4.3	8.2	43.4	39.7	26.0
BFS3b	20.1	18.5	41.1	16.0	11.4	19.1	44.9	40.1	32.9

	OTHERS			NO ANSWER		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
BMS1	1.6	2.9	1.4	10.2	17.2	13.7
CMS1	2.9	4.3	0.0	7.4	21.7	6.9
BFS1	1.5	2.9	0.0	8.8	15.7	5.5
CFS1	3.0	2.9	0.0	14.6	17.3	4.1
BMS2	4.4	0.0	4.1	10.2	24.5	6.8
CMS2	4.4	0.0	1.4	13.2	22.9	5.5
BFS2	1.6	1.4	4.1	7.3	15.9	5.5
CFS2	2.9	0.0	0.0	11.7	21.6	6.8
BMS3a	4.6	2.8	0.0	11.8	14.3	2.7
CMS3	1.5	1.6	1.4	7.3	11.6	1.4
BFS3a	7.5	4.3	0.0	10.2	11.6	8.2
CFS3	1.6	2.9	4.1	8.8	18.7	9.7
BMS3b	1.6	4.4	1.4	10.2	13.1	8.2
BFS3b	3.0	0.0	1.4	16.0	30.0	5.5

The compilations of the answers into Areas of Personality may be summarized as follows. The male speaker 1 in the three year period drifts in his Basque guise from being described mainly in terms of Competence to being described mainly in terms of Social Attractiveness. This shift is not paralleled in the Castilian guise where he is primarily described in terms of Competence.

The second male speaker presents the opposite image. It is in his Basque guise that he is described throughout the period in terms of Competence and in his Castilian guise where there is a shift from Social Attractiveness in the first two years to Competence in the last one.

The third male speaker is described in Competence terms in each guise in all three years. Although in both the Basque and Castilian guises there is a steady increase in the percentages from one year to the next, greater increases

are seen in the Basque guise than in the Castilian. This trend is also present in the Biscayan guise.

The results corresponding to the female speakers in the three pairs reflect exactly the opposite tendencies. The female speaker 1 always gets higher percentages for terms related to Social Attractiveness in both her guises. However, the figures are slightly more evenly distributed among areas than in the case of the male speaker where there was more contrast between them.

The second female speaker varies differently in trend according to the guise. In the Basque one, from a majority of terms related to Social Attractiveness in the first two years she is described more in terms of Competence in the third year, while in the Castilian guise there is a slight shift away from Competence with percentages more evenly distributed between the two areas of personality.

The third female speaker is always more highly rated in terms of Social Attractiveness in her Basque guise and there is a change from this area to Competence in her Castilian one.

8.3.3.2 Summing up

The most noticeable feature of the results is the different treatment observed in the three couples throughout the three year period. This disparity in results makes it all the more difficult to reach any general overall conclusion which is valid in all instances.

If a conclusion is attempted from the results obtained on General Areas of Personality, it could include a mention of the division present between male and female speakers. While the former are described basically in terms of Competence, the latter are more often perceived in qualities related to Social Attractiveness. However, this division needs qualification, since in some cases it is not static. There are variations between these two areas in some speakers across guises. For the female speakers the movement is generally from Social Attractiveness to Competence. The exceptions to this are seen in one speaker in the Castilian guise where there is a small trend away from Competence and in another where no great change is discernible. For the male speakers there are two variations, one in the Basque guise from Competence to Social Attractiveness, and the second in the Castilian guise going in the opposite direction.

The task when attempting to establish any salient choice of isolated qualities as stereotyped descriptions, is equally complex. As observed above, there is no clear image produced by the guise stimulus. Even the contrastive dimension of 'Kind'/'Hard' observed in the two other studies, seems not to be operative exclusively to either guise. The assigning of this pair of adjectives is not easily predicted, as it had been previously. Therefore, in view of the current results under analysis it is as if the image were not only more confused, but possibly in the process of undergoing a transformation.

8.3.3.3 Variations in general impression

As on the two previous occasions, the Pilot Study and Main Survey, the difference in the treatment of guises as measured on a 'social distance' scale was examined in the three year period. The results (Table 81), as usual, are given separately for each speaker in both guises in order not to allow the overall results to mask reactions caused by individual speakers.

Table 81 : General Impression (Percentages)

(a)	BMS1			CMS1		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	59.4	59.9	57.5	39.1	40.0	28.7
'd'	15.9	25.8	26.0	23.3	27.1	41.1
'e' to 'g'	23.3	14.3	16.5	37.6	32.9	30.1
m.c.	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
mode	'c'	'c'	'c'	'e'	'd'	'd'
	(34.8)	(37.1)	(46.6)	(26.1)	(27.1)	(41.1)
median	'c'	'c'	'c'	'd'	'd'	'd'

	BFS1			CFS1		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	47.8	4.58	42.5	43.5	52.9	49.2
'd'	23.3	22.9	27.4	23.2	15.7	20.6
'e' to 'g'	28.9	30.1	28.7	31.9	31.4	30.2
m.c.	0.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0
mode	'c'	'e'	'c'	'c'/'d'	'c'	'c'
	(36.2)	(24.3)	(34.2)	(23.2)	(22.9)	(26.0)
median	'd'	'd'	'd'	'd'	'c'	'd'

The differences in treatment follow the pattern already observed in previous years. The male speaker is favoured in

his Basque guise although this guise does not affect the perception of the female speaker to any great extent.

In the last two years she obtains slightly more favourable ratings in her Castilian guise.

The results of the Chi square tests applied to these results indicate that these differences are significant for the male speaker in the years 84 ($p < 0.05$) and 85 ($p < 0.01$) and, for the female in the years 83 ($p < 0.01$) and 85 ($p < 0.001$)

(b)

	BMS2			CMS2		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	24.6	35.7	21.9	40.5	34.3	23.3
'd'	30.4	17.1	21.9	14.5	25.8	30.1
'e' to 'g'	44.9	45.7	54.7	43.4	38.5	42.5
m.c.	0.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	4.1
mode	'd'	'c'/'e'	'e'	'e'	'd'	'd'
	(30.4)	(22.9)	(30.1)	(33.3)	(25.7)	(30.1)
median	'd'	'd'	'e'	'd'	'd'	'd'

	BFS2			CFS2		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	34.8	28.6	31.5	47.8	45.7	41.1
'd'	13.0	27.1	23.3	21.8	10.0	28.8
'e' to 'g'	52.2	42.8	43.8	30.4	44.3	28.7
m.c.	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.4
mode	'c'/'e'	'd'	'd'	'c'	'c'	'd'
	(21.7)	(27.1)	(23.3)	(34.8)	(34.3)	(28.8)
median	'e'	'd'	'd'	'd'	'd'	'd'

The results corresponding to this second pair of speakers present a departure from those obtained so far for the male speaker who now is rated more similarly in both guises.

Moreover, a greater proportion of answers fall below 'neutral' in both cases. In the case of the female speaker, the trend towards being more favourably rated in her Castilian guise is maintained.

The results of the Chi square tests indicate significant difference in the treatment of guises for the male speaker in the years 83 ($p < 0.01$), 84 ($p < 0.05$) and 85 ($p < 0.01$), while for the female speaker the only significant difference ($p < 0.01$) is in the year 83.

(c)

	BMS3a			CMS3		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	30.4	31.5	32.8	47.8	61.4	43.8
'd'	20.3	18.6	24.7	11.6	17.1	31.5
'e' to 'g'	49.2	48.5	42.5	40.6	20.0	24.6
m.c.	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0
mode	'e'	'e'	'd'/'e'	'e'	'c'	'd'
	(33.3)	(30.0)	(24.7)	(34.8)	(35.7)	(31.5)
median	'd'	'd'	'd'	'd'	'c'	'd'

	BFS3a			CFS3		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	50.8	65.7	37.0	43.5	45.6	21.9
'd'	24.6	10.0	35.6	26.2	12.9	23.3
'e' to 'g'	24.6	24.4	26.0	28.9	41.1	52.0
m.c.	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	2.7
mode	'c'	'c'	'd'	'c'	'c'	'e'
	(29.0)	(25.7)	(35.6)	(29.0)	(27.1)	(35.6)
median	'c'	'c'	'd'	'd'	'd'	'e'

The results obtained for the third pair also present a new assessment of guises. Surprisingly the male speaker is rated rather unfavourably in his Basque guise while in his

Castilian guise he continues to be allocated favourable statements. The results for the female speaker are more in line with those of previous years, although in the last year the Basque guise is not so favourably perceived and to a larger extent this is also the case with the Castilian guise. In the Biscayan guise, the results parallel those obtained for Batua, although those of the female speaker in the last year are even less positive.

The Chi square tests applied to the above results indicate significant differences for the male speaker in the years 83 ($p < 0.01$) and 84 ($p < 0.05$), and for the female speaker in those corresponding to 83 ($p < 0.05$) and 85 ($p < 0.01$).

(d)

	BMS3b			BFS3b		
	83	84	85	83	84	85
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'a' to 'c'	24.6	32.9	24.7	63.7	61.4	30.1
'd'	23.2	20.0	27.4	11.6	10.0	27.4
'e' to 'g'	52.1	47.1	46.6	24.7	28.6	41.1
m.c.	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.4
mode	'e'	'c'	'd'/'e'	'c'	'c'	'd'
	(26.1)	(22.9)	(27.4)	(24.6)	(31.4)	(27.4)
median	'e'	'd'	'd'	'c'	'c'	'd'

8.3.3.4 Summing up

The results obtained from this three year period appear to offer a departure from those given by other subjects when they are using the same scale.

The main result is that there is a difference between guises with an associated change in direction. The Basque guise yields less favourable opinions, with the exceptions

of the first male and third female speaker, than its Castilian counterpart. Even in the case of the third male speaker who so far had been rated differently from the others and granted a more favourable assessment, this trend towards a less favourable treatment of the Basque guise is maintained.

What is interesting is that the gap between the answers is due to a shift in results obtained from the Basque guise, since the percentages relating to the Castilian guise are not so different from those previously obtained. Furthermore, the results of the Chi square tests indicate that these differences reach significant levels in most of the cases.

8.3.3.5 Evaluation of Personality Traits

The ratings assigned to the speakers in both their guises on a ten point scale, covering twenty-two qualities were examined as a possible basis for differentiated stereotyped images caused by the variable 'guise'.

The mean scores are included in Appendix 13, together with those results of the t tests which proved to be significant. The discussion below corresponds to these significant differences in the evaluation of traits.

In the first year the most noticeable feature is the scarcity of traits rated higher in the Basque guise for the male speakers. The only one is 'Kind' and that is for the first speaker only. In the case of the female speakers there are no traits consistently repeated for all. 'Wealthy' is

Table 82 : Significant contrasts between the Basque and Castilian guises

(a) Plentzia 1983

Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Kind**	Enter- prising*		Tall*** Intelli- gent** Hard working**	Wealthy**	Peaceful** Likeable** Generous* Wealthy*

Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Wealthy* Humour*	Peaceful*	Intelli- gent** Sociable** Hard working** Tall* Leader* Wealthy* Self- confident* Likeable*		Indepen- dent* Likeable* Hard working** Generous*	Earnest*

rated significantly higher in two of the female speakers and then there are different images with Competence traits emphasised for one of the speakers while Benevolence ones and another related to Social Attractiveness is used in the description of the other speaker.

The Castilian guise is rated higher using a varied diversity of qualities. However, there is no balanced distribution among the speakers, with the third male accumulating

many more than the other two male speakers. The nature of the traits corresponds basically to Competence and Social Attractiveness, with 'Wealthy' being repeated in two instances. This adjective was also found, as previously mentioned, among those rated higher in the Basque females. The qualities rated higher for the female speakers in the Castilian guise are distributed in similar areas to those of the male speaker.

(b) Plentzia 1984

Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Kind*		Hard*	Hard working*	Hard* Enterprising*	Kind*** Generous** Humour** Leader* Likeable*

Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Tall** Ambitious* Hard* Wealthy*	Tall*	Generous*** Intelligent** Peaceful** Sociable** Hard working** Kind* Likeable*	Humour** Intransigent*		

In the second year the same type of qualities generally appear to be chosen to describe the speakers as in the first year.

In the Basque guise there are almost no traits rated higher for the male speakers. Those present, one for each of the two speakers, are 'Kind' and 'Hard'. Those assigned to the female speakers offer an image varying between a competent and a well-liked person.

In the Castilian guise qualities rated significantly higher range between an image of a competent person in the case of the first male speaker to that of a more rounded and complete image for the third speaker in which traits related to Benevolence and Social Attractiveness are mentioned. The only traits rated more highly present among the female speakers are a new departure when compared with the previous year.

(c) Plentzia 1985

Traits rated higher in Basque

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Kind*			Loyal*	Hard*	Enter- prising*
Reserved*					
Hard working*					

Traits rated higher in Castilian

Male Speakers			Female Speakers		
Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3
Hard*		Religious** Wealthy** Sociable** Intelli- gent* Loyal* Leader* Peaceful*		Intelli- gent*	Earnest*

In the third year, the pattern shown in the previous years of the male speakers who are assigned very few traits in which they are rated higher in the Basque guise is repeated once more. It is again the first speaker who gets the higher number of traits differently rated with 'Kind' mentioned as on previous occasions. Among the female speakers in the second year there is a repetition for one of the speakers of the trait mentioned, 'Hard', which in the past was not associated either with female speakers or with the Basque guise. In the case of the other two female speakers, there is no agreement between them even in the selection of areas of personality.

In the Castilian guise the recurrent trait of 'Hard' is assigned once more to the first male speaker, and the third one projects a very flattering image of a successful and well-liked person. For the female speakers, two get traits rated significantly higher in the Castilian guise, but, as in the Basque one, they are not traits referring to kindness or social acceptability, but to Competence, 'Intelligent' and 'Earnest'.

8.3.3.6 Summing up

When trying to assess what the perceptions of the speakers are in terms of personal qualities based on the results discussed above, the main observation is that the number of qualities significantly rated higher in either guise is relatively low. In consequence, there is difficulty in finding a sustained core of traits that might offer support to the establishing of a prevailing stereotype based on linguistic stimulus.

In fact, the results would appear to support the opposite view. There are no traits systematically rated higher, or even in the present section, no division between qualities associated with male or female speakers that are maintained consistently, as on previous occasions. There is, in effect, a more widespread distribution of traits across sex and guise, and there is an even more startling result in the allocation of 'Hard' to a female speaker and in her Basque guise. The first male speaker however, is still seen as kinder in his Basque guise.

These results, differing from previous ones, could be explained in terms of a period of change and reappraisal of stereotypes, if not their disappearance. On the whole, neither the Basque nor Castilian guises can be said to evoke clearly perceived images although in the case of the Basque guise, the image is certainly not a negative or deprecatory one, but rather a more elusive and less concretely established one than found in the past surveys among school children.

8.3.3.7 Socio-professional category

The last section of the questionnaire dealing with jobs and professions assigned to the speakers was analysed in the same way as on the previous occasion. First, answers were looked at according to socio-professional category using nine classifications⁵. These results did not differ substantially from those using the five social groups already discussed in Chapter 5, since there were categories which were hardly necessary, e.g. Armed Forces. Finally, those specific jobs or professions more often selected were compiled. A Chi square test was also applied to check on the significance of any differences in the results.

The results for the three year period are given below for each speaker.

Table 83 : Socio-professional category. (Percentages)

(a)

<u>Male 1</u>	83		84		85	
	BMS1	CMS1	BMS1	CMS1	BMS1	CMS1
0. Prof. & Man.	39.1%	47.8%		47.1%	37.0%	45.2%
...						
8. Others	39.1%	23.2%	30.0%		32.9%	19.2%
9. No Answer			30.0%	18.6%		
<u>Female 1</u>	BFS1	CFS1	BFS1	CFS1	BFS1	CFS1
0. Prof. & Man.	50.7%	40.6%	32.9%	28.6%	34.2%	42.5%
8. Others	21.7%	23.2%	25.7%		27.4%	21.9%
9. No Answer				21.4%		

Jobs and Professions

	83	84	85
BMS1	Politician 31.9%	No Answer 30.0%	Teacher 19.2%
		Politician 21.4%	Politician 17.8%
CMS1	Politician 13.0%	No Answer 18.6%	Teacher 13.7%
	Journalist 10.1%	Industrial 10.0%	No Answer/ Politician 6.8%
BFS1	Teacher 23.2%	No Answer 22.9%	Politician 17.8%
	Journalist 14.5%	Politician 12.9%	Teacher 13.7%
	Politician 13.0%	Secretary 11.4%	Secretary 11.0%
CFS1	Teacher/ Student 15.9%	No Answer 21.4%	Teacher 19.2%
		Teacher 12.9%	Journalist 11.0%
		Student 10.0%	Politician 6.8%

The results corresponding to the first pair present higher percentages for the 'Professional and Managerial' category for the male speaker in his Castilian guise than in the Basque one, where the answers grouped under 'Others' are relatively numerous.

As for the female speaker, the highest percentages in both guises fall in to the 'Professional and Managerial' category, although with different percentages over the three years.

The label 'Politician' is repeated for specific jobs for both male and female speakers in all guises. However, the percentages are higher in the Basque guise of the male speaker and very low in the case of the female speaker in her Castilian guise, as if the Basque guise seemed to evoke this term more than its Castilian counterpart.

(b)

<u>Male 2</u>	83		84		85	
	BMS2	CMS2	BMS2	CMS2	BMS2	CMS2
0. Prof. & Man.	40.6%	34.8%	40.0%		26.0%	32.9%
...						
8. Others	40.6%	29.0%	28.6%	35.7%	42.5%	34.2%
9. No Answer				24.3%		
<u>Female 2</u>	BFS2	CFS2	BFS2	CFS2	BFS2	CFS2
0. Prof. & Man.	26.1%	40.6%	27.1%		30.1%	39.7%
...						
8. Others	43.5%	33.3%	20.0%	27.1%	30.1%	35.6%
No Answer				27.1%		

Jobs and Professions

	83	84	85
BMS2	Politician 26.1% Journalist 15.9% Priest 13.0%	Politician 22.9% No Answer 14.3% Teacher 10.0%	Politician 20.5% Priest 15.1% No Answer 8.2%
CMS2	Lawyer 11.6% Teacher/Shop Assistant 10.1%	No Answer 24.3% Student 22.9%	Student 16.4% Lawyer 12.3% Teacher 9.6%
BFS2	Nun 20.3% Politician 17.4% Journalist 10.1%	No Answer 12.9% Manual Worker 10.0% Politician 8.6%	Politician 16.4% No Answer 11.0% Teacher 8.2%
CFS2	Teacher 23.2% Politician 14.5%	No Answer 27.1% Student 11.4% Housewife 10.0%	Teacher/Student 13.7% Newsreader/No Answer 8.2%

The results obtained for the second pair vary with the years. In both guises the male speaker's results tend to move from 'Professional and Managerial' to 'Others'. In the three years the Basque guise obtains higher percentages for the first choice than the Castilian one as if there was more consensus in the allocation of jobs and professions in this guise. The answers for the female speaker vary between the two categories mentioned above and are without a consistent pattern. This could be due to the relatively high non-response in the middle year. In respect of specific jobs, the same comment on the recurrence of the term 'Politician' associated with the Basque guise is valid for this second couple. The label is used for both speakers in this guise, although the percentages assigned to the male speaker are higher than for the female, and it is almost non-existent for the speakers in their Castilian guise.

In the same way that 'Politician', 'Teacher' and 'Student' seem not to be specifically associated with any particular sex, 'Journalist' is also used indiscriminately.

(c)

Male 3	83			84			85		
	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0. Prof. & Man.	44.9	33.3	42.0	38.6	24.3	40.0	28.8	45.2	39.7
...	°								
8. Others	21.7	31.9	39.1			25.7	28.8	16.4	46.6
9. No Answer				24.3	24.3				

Female 3	83			84			85		
	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3
0. Prof. & Man.	33.3	24.6	42.0	27.1	25.7	21.4	41.1	35.6	46.6
1. Com. & Ind.									
2. Cler. & Tech.									
...									
8. Other	33.3	40.6	24.6	28.6	45.7		24.7	28.8	28.8
9. No Answer									

Jobs and Professions

	83		84		85	
BMS3a	Politician 13.0%		No Answer 24.3%		Politician 16.4%	
	Teacher 10.1%		Politician 11.4%		No Answer 15.1%	
BMS3b	Priest/Politician 13.0%		No Answer 24.3%		Teacher 11.0%	
			Teacher 7.1%		Doctor/No Answer 6.8%	
CMS3	Politician 30.4%		No Answer 22.9%		Politician 32.9%	
	Lawyer 10.1%		Politician 14.3%		Teacher 15.1%	
			Teacher 11.4%		Lawyer 8.2%	
BFS3a	Teacher 14.5%		No Answer 20.0%		Teacher 21.9%	
	Student 13.0%		Student 11.4%		No Answer 9.6%	
	Politician 10.1%		Teacher 8.6%		Secretary 8.2%	
BFS3b	Student 23.2%		Student 34.3%		Teacher 23.3%	
	Secretary 10.1%		No Answer 15.7%		No Answer 13.7%	
CFS3	Teacher/Secretary 13.0%		No Answer 17.1%		Teacher 12.3%	
			Secretary 11.4%		Politician 11.0%	
	Politician 10.1%		Journalist 8.6%			

The results obtained for the third pair vary in the last year as to the choice of Socio-Professional category, moving from 'Professional and Managerial' to 'Others' in the case of the male speaker. The female speaker tends to maintain

more the choice of the former category in relation to both guises although with higher percentages in all three years for the Castilian guise.

For specific jobs 'Politician' is used with the male speaker in both his guises but in this case it is in the Castilian guise that it reaches higher percentages. The mention of this term appears to a lesser degree with the female speaker in both her guises.

The comments made for the results of the two previous pairs as to the distribution of particular jobs according to the sex of the speaker and that of other occupations independent of this variable are valid in the present case.

Although there were perceived differences in the results, not all of these were statistically significant with probabilities below 0.05. The following table shows the differences in the results which are significant on allocations of jobs according to guises.

(d)

	Plentzia 83	Plentzia 84	Plentzia 85
BMS1/CMS1	-	-	p <0.01
BMS2/CMS2	-	-	-
BMS3a/CMS3	p <0.01	p <0.01	p <0.05
BFS1/CFS1	p <0.01	-	-
BFS2/CFS2	-	p <0.01	p <0.05
BFS3a/CFS3	-	-	-

Because these results are not consistent over all the speakers or throughout the three years period, the answers obtained must be discussed in terms of tendencies which in some cases do not reach statistical significance.

8.3.3.8 Summing up

From the results obtained in this three year period the distribution of certain specific jobs according to the sex of the speakers mentioned in the previous chapter is consistently repeated and confirmed. The two different guises seem to contribute to a certain extent to the choice of the term 'Politician' to describe both male and female speakers, with the Basque guise obtaining the higher percentages of use.

Finally, although speaking in strictly statistical terms some of these differences do not reach significance levels, it is worth analysing the drift of these 'tendencies' in order to obtain a more detailed and complete image of any possible existing stereotype perceived by the subjects.

8.4 Conclusion

Following from the work on the different sections of the survey, the questions that are uppermost are: Does a clearly defined stereotype for the Basque speakers exist? If so, does the traditional one persist? Are there any salient qualities present in the assessment of Personality Traits evoked by the Basque guise? And, if so, how could they be interpreted in terms of the results obtained from the section on Preferences given by the subjects under study?

Information from the Questionnaires seems to provide no strong evidence of any well established clearly perceived stereotype supported by statistically significant differences between ratings and evaluations. However, there is no

basis either for dismissing completely the signs of a difference in treatment of the speakers regardless of their individual traits. If the discussion is conducted in terms of tendencies, the overall appreciation is of a variable situation, which is even more apparent if compared with the results obtained in previous years. These trends emerge among subjects who have not substantially modified the pattern of preference established by their predecessors. It appears that there is a steady maintenance of the values present among them vis-à-vis a less permanent or adjustable appraisal of an aspect more permeable and open to influence, that is the values associated with a certain group.

From the results obtained the answer to the first question raised would appear to be that no strong stereotype comes from the subjects under study in terms of clearly defined status or a distinctive set of traits found among some speakers or a language to the exclusion of the others. Such an acknowledged presence of an accepted recognisable stereotype might then be equated in terms of linguistic belonging. However, there is no equation between a language and certain qualities as given by the measuring instrument used in this study.

The conclusion that emerges quite strongly from the results is of a dynamic state of affairs which may answer the second question on the persistence of a traditional stereotype. In the presence of this situation - far from static - there are no identifiable significant links with any previous perceived images with a set of salient traits

assumed by the population to a lesser or higher degree of identification.

However, as to the third question, there is no doubt either that, if trying to pinpoint what traits might be marked by stereotypy is no easy task, trying to observe the general acceptance of the Basque speakers present in previous years is equally difficult. There is a shift in direction of answers which agrees with the dispersion of results commented on so far or even this lack of persistent perception of the Basque speakers among the subjects.

Although some results seem to indicate a trend towards a possible association between an activity and a linguistic stimulus, one of the jobs mentioned in this area, 'Politician', gives ground to suppose that the association might not be strictly in terms of job status. It is possible that it points to a more complex situation present in the context of the study and projected to the surface as a result of the analysis of everyday activities salient in terms of occupation in the community.

Finally, in relation to the fourth question, as an interpretation of the results in terms of the values operative among the subjects, the conclusion is of an overall acceptance of speakers of both languages in terms of likeability or status without any significant discriminatory image which could reach a level to establish the existence of a self-diminishing image by some speakers or even a compensatory one in terms of Social Attractiveness to make up for a situation of weakness in social status.

In addition, it is worth noting once more how complex the situation is, with answers in the present case coming from subjects who project an image of increasing proficiency in Euskera without that affecting their appraisal of its speakers.

CONCLUSIONS

This research starts with the present day situation in the 'Comunidad Autónoma Vasca' (The Basque Country within the Spanish state) emphasising historical, sociocultural and situational aspects. It is a community where linguistic and political boundaries do not coincide. Euskera, the Basque language, expands beyond the border with France but is only known by a minority of the Basque community, while Castilian, the language of the Spanish state, is the only language used by the majority of the inhabitants.

If 1919 marked the beginning of international legislation protecting language and culture for some minorities in Europe under the League of Nations, it was only in 1982 that Euskera reached the status of an official language in the Basque Country, equivalent to Castilian. It was also described by the Parliament of the Basque Government in the following terms: 'La lengua propia del País Vasco es el Euskera' (the true/proper/authentic language of the Basque Country is Euskera) (Art.2: Ley Básica de Normalización del uso del Euskera 10/1982/24th Nov.).

The declaration was a belligerent reaffirmation against the position Euskera had been forced into, relegated not only to the status of a minority language but also 'minorised' in its functions. By emphasising its 'properness' it was intended that the language should be reinstated in all domains of everyday life.

Seven years previously the Spanish Government had issued a Decree (2.929/1975/Oct 31st) by which 'the use of the Spanish regional languages was regulated'. Although that meant an improvement in the situation established at the end of the Spanish Civil War, Euskera was still treated as a cultural artefact which had to be preserved rather than as a language for everyday use of a minority in the state. Its use was permitted in meetings and cultural activities, but the official language was Castilian and although Euskera was allowed in administration for oral uses, all official written documents had to be in the 'official' language.

Equally ambiguous was its position in education. Euskera was allowed into the curriculum under labels such as 'complementary activity' or 'optional subject' imparted on a voluntary basis on the students' part and under a discriminatory treatment for the teachers vis-à-vis those of other subjects. Any more consistent efforts were only possible if presented as experimental pedagogical activities, or through private bodies such as the 'ikastolas': the Basque schools. The existence of these centres was a living demonstration that Euskera not only could be but was effectively used in the school domain. Any diffidence on the suitability of an 'ancient' language to face the challenge of instruction in modern times was thus dispelled in the most convincing way.

The legal change of status for the language brought about by the 1982 law was reflected almost immediately in the life of the community. Therefore a brief discussion of

comments, letters, editorials and reports from newspapers of the time is included in order to illustrate some of the prevailing atmosphere in those recent years, before and since the law was passed.

The use of newspapers as primary source material has allowed this research to examine the current debate on and discussion of Euskera at a truly popular level. It allows representative views to emerge, views which are not otherwise accessible since no widespread surveys of popular opinion have so far been undertaken.

The body of literature available indicates the interest of members of the community in the new status of Euskera which they felt would bring changes to everyday life. These changes would be far from theoretical and would impinge on practical issues in the running of the affairs of the country.

Opinions on the topic are, as has been shown, very mixed. Some have tried very hard to graft Euskera onto the community at all levels and in all domains by any means available. Others have asked for a more evenly paced and progressive involvement aiming at the same outcome.

Finally, and even in such a brief period of time, there are expressions of an attitude not encountered until now: Castilian speakers feeling threatened by an 'overzealous' implementation of the law. They consider that even the putting into practice of some of the law's requirements would benefit those who also speak Euskera. This new advantage for Euskera speakers replaces their earlier disadvantage which

had originated from a compulsory bilingualism for those whose mother tongue was Euskera, vis-à-vis 'recognised' monolingualism for those who had Castilian, the 'official' language of the Spanish State, as their only one.

The voicing of these discordant feelings is substantiated by some various legal judgements and actions of the Spanish authorities who have failed to understand the reason for the drawing up of the regulations for posts to be held mainly at the level of local institutions. In some cases the requisite knowledge of Euskera is more than justified on account of the linguistic composition of the area to be served. In other cases, the demand is not one that originates from the public, rather it is created by the authorities.

The situation that is aimed at by those responsible is of real bilingualism rather than a diglossic one with only one official language, which has prevailed until now. The change required by the community in the situation is a delicate operation to avoid as much as possible any suspicions, reluctance or harm on the part of those affected. But any efforts to establish a community where a linguistic-cultural pluralism is present must be presented as a problem of civic education and not as the result of a confrontation. Bilingualism in the community is meant to be real and not merely formal, and any necessary shifting must be seen as an act of progressive harmonising in a community where diversity is recognised. This recognition had been not only absent but actively denied before the promulgation of the 1982 law.

The voicing of past grievances on the part of Euskera speakers or those concerned with the decline of the Basque language is briefly commented on. The comments are presented as a memento not only to a historical claim but also to the will of people who have insisted over the years on the legitimacy of their request. In the school domain especially the fiercest measures were felt to be taken against the use of Euskera at an early and impressionable age. It was in education where most defenders thought the roots of a desired and very much sought after change lay: instruction in the mother tongue for many of the subjects as a means not only of a better acquisition of knowledge but of an upgrading in the status of Euskera.

The present research acknowledges the importance of the claim that Euskera is important at the school level by focusing on this age group. As discussed above, previous research has concentrated on a different age sample. Therefore the value of this research lies in tackling an area which allows proposals to be made which would have some constructive bearing and impact on the pedagogical situation.

Further benefits envisaged by supporters of Euskera in schools would be in terms of expanding the resources of the language. By making Euskera a tool of instruction, the erosion suffered from its being reduced to solely a few domains would be not only halted but even reversed. The lexis would be expanded and renovated as required to accommodate demands. Besides, the need for a common language for instruction would accelerate the standardisation of the language.

In terms of the general view taken in this thesis of the need to ease tension between the claims of individuals and the demands of their society, an analysis of similar situations in other bilingual communities is presented. This is viewed as an attempt to situate the problem in a more ample framework, and thereby avoid considering it as the subject of uniquely oppressive circumstances. This contributes to the deliberate attempt undertaken here not to see the fate of Euskera simply in terms of the particular political circumstances of Spain. By using comparative examples the intention is to see Euskera in a broad Euskera/European language contexts rather than a narrow Euskera/Castilian one.

Plurilingualism is more often than not the condition of many states where linguistic and political borders are not coincident. The different classifications of the linguistic communities only indicate the variety of possible relations. But bilingualism can be reckoned as a universal phenomenon. Although the literature contains references of considering bilingualism as a stigma, more and more the attitude is moving away from a negative view towards an awareness of the benefit of living in a medium where two - or more - languages are employed.

This is made clearer when one examines other examples drawn from other non-monolingual communities. Measures to accommodate more than one language are viewed as part of the general management of affairs in non-unilingual communities with a long standing tradition and experience of this issue.

However, it is not the availability of a wide range of models of solving language issues that is of paramount importance. The main lesson is the constant verification that they can be managed and resolved bearing in mind the specificity of any particular situation.

The socio-psychological research carried out on language acquisition has made the attitudinal component an object of special study. The results of certain studies suggest that along with other components, the affective aspect may play a part in the learning of a second language in certain contexts.

This aspect of attitudes towards other speech groups has been of special interest in studies of bilingual communities. In the investigation of possible 'pictures in our heads' of members of a speech group - own or alien - the 'matched guise technique' has been employed in this study in order to provide information on the possible existence of stereotypes among a sample of the population presently involved in the acquisition of Euskera.

It is worth noting that not only has the present study surveyed an age group which up to date has not been specifically investigated but it is believed also to be the first study carried out in this community which employs the 'matched-guise' technique. Therefore its interest in terms of a pioneering investigation.

The 'matched-guise' instrument used had to be revised so as to obtain the best possible results in a new context. Accordingly emphasis was placed on the preliminary investigation of a valid scale of values operative in the population to be surveyed. This aspect of the research could be considered a further contribution to the application of the technique. The standard scale has been enlarged with data from a particular sample to fit the case under scrutiny. This enlargement ensures that not only have 'common' answers to other surveys been obtained for purposes of comparison, but also 'specific' ones have not been masked by the use of an inappropriate measuring device.

In the setting up of the work three different stages were devised. First, a Pilot Study was carried out taking into account the variables to be examined, namely, different linguistic area, sex and age of the subjects. The results have already been discussed but a prevailing general positive attitude towards the language and not a clear unanimous operative stereotype of Basque speakers seems to emerge from the sample.

Next, a larger scale survey was carried out taking into account the same variables already mentioned. The results obtained did not contradict the previous findings. Besides repeating results commonly found in this type of research, such as the presence of stereotypes associated with the sex of the speakers used as stimuli regarding qualities or even activities, the same views as in the Pilot Study were

obtained on the object of study. That is to say, there was a favourable attitude towards the language but there was no marked stereotype consistently biased towards the Basque speakers.

Finally, the survey was repeated over a three year period trying to observe any departures from previous results over time. In this case only one group and one context were observed. The findings were once more corroborated in the essential acceptance of the Basque language and in the absence of a firmly established stereotype of Basque speakers present in the samples under study. In a comparison between the Pilot Study and the final study, the former seemed to give a more compact image which gets less definite over the years. This can also be attributed to the increase in the final study in the number of taped speakers in order to ascertain the projection of stereotyped images by diminishing the influence on the raters of particular personalities.

The results have been fully accounted for and discussed in Chapters 6-8, as have the necessary adjustments to the 'matched-guise' technique.

If the findings seem to indicate the absence of a stereotype present for a speech community a number of plausible interpretations may be considered. Of these, three emerge as arguably of most significance for the present research. Firstly, that there is a period of 'reappraisal of image' at a time of change in the linguistic context.

Secondly, that there may have been a levelling off in the images of the speakers of languages, reflecting the same alteration in the treatment granted to them in law and related issues. Thirdly, another interpretation which at present is stimulating much discussion is whether in some contexts language is still a tool for identity or whether its rallying force is not operative as determinant in the definition of identity.

1. The 'reappraisal of image': the interpretation from the results in this study would be in terms of a more assured image of Basque speakers in view of the favourable trend for the role played by the language. This process is similar to findings in other communities having experienced the same process of 'upgrading' language.

In the same way that no biased linguistic stereotypy is present, a resolution of other possible causes for linguistic tension might be expected in a process similar to the speech accommodation found in personal interaction. A shift towards linguistic convergence would be worked out in the 'settling' of the use of the official languages of the Basque Country in the future. This would follow a stage where both languages would have become equally available and familiar to members of the community. Under the present educational policy subjects similar to those in the sample object of study, the younger generation in the Basque Country, would be on the road not to natural bilingualism - at least a large number of them - but to a stronger position

of voluntary convergence, and to a better knowledge of the language that would facilitate the movement.

In this process of convergence one of the problems is that the speakers of one of the languages show different degrees of eagerness in learning the other language. To overcome this obstacle bilingualism perceived as additive rather than subtractive would help ease the difficulty. Under the present policy this seems to be why there are different interpretations of certain regulations.

2. The 'levelling off' of image: the results of the present study do not offer support for a deprecatory or denigratory image of Basque speakers that would hold back learners from moving towards their target speech community. This is what learning a new language seems to entail, and why the risk of discarding one's own reference group image in favour of others', or at least coming closer to it, seems to be so crucial in some failures in language learning. The findings in this survey seem to indicate that this aspect is not likely to hinder any learning. Therefore, in future research aspects to be analysed include the supportive role allocated to the family or the treatment of 'euskaldunber-
ris' - new speakers of unified Basque in most cases - by members of the target group, or the diffidence of 'euskal-
dunzarras' - native speakers of dialects in their majority - in relation to their variety vis-à-vis the standard form.

3. The language as 'a distinctive face' in the community. It must be stressed once more that all these explorations are exceedingly complex. As has often been stated, any issue related to linguistic matters is an emotional one. Therefore, trying to reason on such topics becomes a very delicate exercise due to the symbolic role generally attached to language by communities. But in the search for a way of 'settling' affairs all these areas should be investigated in the interaction of the linguistic groups.

The findings in the present survey seem to offer a balanced image of speakers of both languages and a willingness to take up the learning of Euskera by the students. It might be an opening towards an acceptance of a situation of 'settling' rather than a 'fight' or a 'struggle' over language coming from those who will take the lead in the coming years.

A reappraisal of the reasons for learning Euskera might however be necessary. 'Euskaldun' (= 'one who has Euskera') is a valid definition of a member of the Basque community, where this unique language is used as an identifier. However, in the present study the image of those belonging to the speech group is not set drastically apart from that of those who do not speak the Basque language. If the role of language as a marker of the distinctiveness of a group is diminished, there might be other elements which have emerged to fulfil that role (for example, administrative or political autonomy).

In the present research the results indicate that speaking Euskera does not entail being automatically allocated a set of well-defined specific characteristics. Therefore the core of the image that a prospective learner of Euskera may expect to acquire by becoming a member of the speech group is vague. If the rationale behind an 'integrative' convergence is a possible change of self-image, then the lack of a clear definition of this image would mitigate against this purpose. Ascertaining the role played by the language in establishing the base lines of distinctiveness for a group needs to be substantiated. Relying on handed down previous stereotyped images may not reflect the current situation.

Accordingly, if the 'integrative' motivation of the language is diffused, then the 'instrumental' one can be reconsidered as the main drive for the acquisition of the language. Under the present circumstances being 'Euskaldun' means, among other things, adding steadily to an individual's chances of a career in certain areas (i.e. in administration, education, and so on) in the everyday life of the Basque Country.

Accepting this as a starting working hypothesis would entail a reconsideration of policy to be drawn up for Euskera learners. Implementation of such a change would lead to decisions that should not be risked without sufficient verifiable and substantiated evidence. However, lack of information on areas such as how speakers of Euskera are viewed, or learners are perceived, either by others or by themselves is currently lacking; such knowledge would assist

in the reaffirming or altering of current trends. The present study, carried out over a period of six years (1979-1985) based on the answers of 572 students from 13 schools in 6 villages in Bizkaia, might be used as a sample of empirical research to gauge attitudes towards Euskera speakers. It was designed as a move away from past impressionistic comments towards establishing a base line relying on less subjective material. Although this dissertation acknowledges the difficulties entailed in examining an area of such sensitivity, it does, nonetheless, suggest the application of a suitable methodology which produces results not easily attained by a less oblique approach.

Further extensive data collection will be required for an effective assessment of the continuous changes in the bilingual context of Euskadi in order to monitor adjustments in the management of linguistic 'settling' of the country. The need is acutely felt in an area as elusive, dynamic and sensitive as the affective and attitudinal aspects of the language.

APPENDIX 1

A.

1. NOMBRE : NUMERO :
2. SEXO : F ☐
M ☐
3. NACIDO EN :
EL :
4. RESIDENTE EN :
5. ¿ HAS VIVIDO EN OTROS SITIOS ?
NO ☐
SI ☐
6. ¿ TE GUSTARIA VIVIR EN OTRO SITIO ?
NO ☐
SI ☐ : ¿ Dónde ? :
7. ¿ ESTUDIAS O HAS ESTUDIADO ALGUNA LENGUA EXTRANJERA ?
SI ☐ : ¿ Qué lenguas ? :
¿ Te gustan los idiomas ? SI ☐
NO ☐
NO ☐ : ¿ Te gustaría estudiar idiomas ?
SI ☐ : ¿ Por qué ? :
.....
NO ☐ : ¿ Por qué ? :
.....
.....
8. Pon en orden de preferencia 3 lenguas que te gustaría hablar :
1.
2.
3.

9. ¿ HAS OIDO HABLAR EUSKERA ALGUNA VEZ ?

NO ☐

SI ☐ : ¿ Te parece difícil ? NO ☐

SI ☐

10. ¿ ENTIENDES EUSKERA ? SI ☐ NO ☐

¿ HABLAS EUSKERA ? SI ☐ NO ☐

¿ LEES EUSKERA ? SI ☐ NO ☐

¿ ESCRIBES EUSKERA ? SI ☐ NO ☐

11. EN TU FAMILIA, ¿ HAY ALGUIEN QUE ENTIENDA EUSKERA ?

SI ☐ NO ☐

HABLE EUSKERA?

SI ☐ NO ☐

LEA EUSKERA?

SI ☐ NO ☐

ESCRIBA EUSKERA

SI ☐ NO ☐

12. ENTRE TUS AMIGOS, ¿ HAY ALGUNO QUE ENTIENDA EUSKERA ?

SI ☐ NO ☐

HABLE EUSKERA?

SI ☐ NO ☐

LEA EUSKERA?

SI ☐ NO ☐

ESCRIBA EUSKERA

SI ☐ NO ☐

13. SI NO HABLAS EUSKERA, ¿ TE GUSTARIA APRENDER ?

SI ☐ : ¿ Por qué ? :

.....

NO ☐ : ¿ Por qué ? :

.....

B.

1. Escribe las 4 cualidades que más aprecias en una persona:
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
2. Escribe las 4 cualidades que tú crees que la gente aprecia más en las personas:
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
3. Escribe las 4 cualidades que menos te gustan en una persona:
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
4. Escribe las 4 cualidades que tú crees que gustan menos a la gente en las personas:
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
5. Escribe las 4 cualidades que tú crees una persona necesita para triunfar en la vida:
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.

C.

1. Escribe las 4 cualidades que te parecen más apropiadas para describir a la persona que acaba de hablar:

1.
2.
3.
4.

2. Marca lo que te parezca más apropiado para describir la impresión que te ha causado la persona que acaba de hablar:

- a. Me gustaría tenerle como a mi mejor amigo..... ☐
- b. Me gustaría invitarle a mi casa..... ☐
- c. Disfrutaría charlando con esta persona..... ☐
- d. Le aceptaría en mi grupo de trabajo..... ☐
- e. Sólo querría conocerlo de vista..... ☐
- f. Preferiría que estuviera en otra clase..... ☐
- g. Preferiría tenerle cuanto más lejos mejor..... ☐

3. Marca las cualidades que crees que describen mejor a la persona que acaba de hablar:

[illegible]

APPENDIX 2

a. Castilian

Todos los seres humanos nacen libres e iguales en dignidad y derechos y, dotados como están de razón y conciencia, deben comportarse fraternalmente los unos con los otros.

Toda persona tiene todos los derechos y libertades proclamados en esta Declaración, sin distinción alguna de raza, color, sexo, idioma, religión, opinión política o de cualquier otra índole, origen nacional o social, posición económica, nacimiento o cualquier otra condición.

Además, no se hará distinción alguna fundada en la condición política, jurídica o internacional del país o territorio de cuya jurisdicción dependa una persona, tanto si se trata de un país independiente como de un territorio bajo administración fiduciaria, no autónomo o sometido a cualquier otra limitación de soberanía.

Todo individuo tiene derecho a la libertad y a la seguridad de su persona.

Nadie estará sometido a esclavitud ni a servidumbre; la esclavitud y la trata de esclavos están prohibidas en todas sus formas.

Nadie será sometido a torturas ni a penas o tratos crueles, inhumanos o degradantes.

Todo ser humano tiene derecho, en todas partes, al reconocimiento de su personalidad jurídica.

b. Euskera

Gizaki oro dignitate eta eskubideetan libre eta berdín jaiotzen da, eta, arrazoinaz eta kontzientziaz horniturik dagoenez, elkarrekiko, anaitziki ihardun behar du.

Pertsona orok Deklarazio honetan adierazitako eskubide eta askatasun guztiak ditu, inolako distintziorik gabe, ez arraza, kolore, sexu, hizkera, erlijio, politik edo bestelako iritzi, nazional edo sozial etorki, ekonomia posizio, jaiotze, edo beste edozein kondizioagatik.

Gainera, ez da inolako bereizketarik egingen, pertsona jurisdikziopean duen herriaren edo lurraldearen politik, judizial edonazioarteko kondizioagatik, nahiz herria independente izan, nahiz fiduzial administraziopean dagoen lurralde, ez autonomo, edo bere burujabetzaren edonolako mugaketetara menperaturiko herria izan.

Pertsona orok du askatasunerako eta bere pertsonarekiko seguritateko eskubidea.

Inor ez da ez menpekotasunera, ez morrointasunera behartuko; morrointasuna eta morroin tratua mota guztiak debekatuak daude.

Inor ez da torturatarik sometituko, ez eta tratua krudel, giza gabetasun edo degradantetara.

Gizaki orok du, nonahi, beraren pertsonalitate juridikoaren aitorketarako eskubidea.

APPENDIX 3

Reasons for Studying Languagesa) Useful

1. They will be of help when I grow up.
2. They interest me and I want to visit other countries.
3. If one studies languages one can go anywhere when one grows up.
4. Languages are very useful.
5. One can speak when abroad.
6. One can make oneself understood when travelling.
7. I would like to travel.
8. I would like to travel and you have to learn languages.
9. One day might be useful.
10. They are necessary to go abroad.
11. In case some day I meet somebody who does not know my language.
12. To speak to foreigners if ever I go abroad.
13. To be self reliant when travelling.
14. To speak to foreigners.

b) Communication and Understanding

15. So as to understand foreigners and make myself understood.
16. It is very interesting to understand other people.
17. I enjoy talking with foreigners.
18. I could communicate with any foreigner.
19. In order to understand everybody.
20. So as to understand people from other places.

21. So as to communicate with more people.
22. To enjoy international contacts.
23. I think it is wonderful to understand everybody
24. Thus one can get to know other people.
25. Thus I could have contacts with anybody in the world
26. They are necessary in life for communication.

c) Pleasure

27. I like learning.
28. I like foreign languages very much.
29. I enjoy expressing ideas in different ways.
30. I like to find out what languages are like.
31. I like it.

d) Culture

32. It is a way of expanding our culture.
33. It is culture and this always helps.

APPENDIX 4

Reasons for Learning Euskeraa) Useful - Needed

1. It is a language that can help you a lot.
2. It is necessary in the way we live today.
3. It is necessary where I live.
4. It is the second language spoken where I live.
5. It will be necessary in some years time.
6. It is the language that will be spoken in the Basque Country.
7. I think that in a few years it will be spoken in the Basque Country as Spanish is at the present moment.
8. I think it soon will be widely spoken.
9. It is very widely spoken.

b) Communication - Understanding

10. To understand the language of where I live.
11. So as to establish contacts with the people who speak Euskera.
12. To understand and speak with them.
13. Thus I would understand those who speak it.

c) General

14. Thus I could talk.
15. Thus I could speak it.
16. Today it is very important.
17. I like to study languages.
18. It is always convenient to learn.

d) Culture

General:

- 19. I am interested in learning languages and in getting to know new things.
- 20. This language interests me.
- 21. It interests me and I like it.
- 22. It is a language I consider very interesting and very traditional.
- 23. I should like to learn it because I think it is interesting.
- 24. I think it is a very interesting language.

"Own":

- 25. It is our culture and it should not be lost.
- 26. It is very important not to let die the language of the region where you live.

e) Aesthetic/Liking

- 27. It is very beautiful. (3)
- 28. It is a beautiful language and worthwhile studying.
- 29. It is beautiful and I live in Euzkadi.
- 30. I like it very much.
- 31. I like it.
- 32. I like it and I live in a place where it is spoken.
- 33. I live here and therefore I like Euskera.

f) Identification = my/our

- 34. To talk with my friends.
- 35. I live here in Euzkadi.
- 36. It is my language. (2)
- 37. It is the language of my country and it is important.

38. It is the language of my country.
39. It is the language of where I was born.
40. It is the language spoken in my birthplace.
41. Because I live in the Basque Country.
42. It is the language of my village.
43. It is the language of our province and it interests us.
44. It is our language and I like it.
45. I live here in Euzkadi and I want to learn Euskera, as the person who lives in England wants to learn English.
46. It is necessary to insert yourself in the society and way of thinking of where you live.
47. It is the language spoken where I live.
48. It is the language of my country and it will expand itself in a few years time.
49. It is the language of the region where I live.
50. To preserve the legacy of our ancestors and I think their language is very interesting.
51. I live in Euzkadi and I like to know my mother tongue.
52. It is our language.
53. I like it and besides it is the language of my village.
54. As I come from this village I think it is very interesting and necessary.
55. Because it is a language I like and which belongs to my people.

APPENDIX 5

Qualities necessary for SuccessD VILLAGE

1. Intelligent
2. With Initiative
3. Active
4. Responsible
5. Hard working

Younger Group

1. Kind
2. Likeable
3. True
4. Good

Females

1. Kind
2. Likeable
3. True
4. Good

Males

- Hard working
- Generous
- Intelligent
- Likeable

Older Group

1. Intelligent
2. With Initiative
3. Active
4. Hard working
5. Responsible

Females

1. Intelligent
2. With
initiative
3. Active
4. Ambitious

Males

- Intelligent
- With
initiative
- Responsible
- Hard
working

M VILLAGE

1. Intelligent
2. True
3. Kind
4. Responsible
5. Hard working

Younger Group

1. Intelligent
2. Kind
3. True
4. Hard working

Females

1. Kind
2. True
2. Intelligent
4. Hard working

Males

- Kind
- True
- Intelligent
- Hard working

Older Group

1. Intelligent
2. Kind
3. True
4. Hard working
5. Responsible

Females

1. -
2. -
3. -
4. -
5. -

Males

- Intelligent
- True
- Responsible
- Hard working
- Kind

Qualities "disliked" in people

D VILLAGE

1. Dishonest
2. Selfish
3. Proud
4. Revengeful
5. Disagreeable
6. Disloyal

Younger Group

1. Dishonest
2. Disagreeable
3. Rude
4. Proud
5. Disloyal
6. Selfish

Females

1. Dishonest
2. Disagreeable
3. Selfish
4. Rude
5. Disloyal
6. Proud

Males

- Selfish
- Hard
- Disagreeable
- Ambitious
- Proud
- Stupid

Older Group

1. Disloyal
2. Dishonest
3. Selfish
4. Revengeful
5. Proud

Females

1. Selfish
2. Revengeful
3. Dishonest
4. Disloyal
5. Proud
- Irresponsible
6. Envious

Males

- Disloyal
- Confuse
- Irresponsible
- Selfish
- Dishonest

-

M VILLAGE

1. Dishonest
2. Ambitious
3. Proud
4. Obstinate
5. Selfish
6. Hard

Younger Group

1. Dishonest
2. Proud
3. Hard
4. Rude
5. Disagreeable
6. Ugly

Females

1. Dishonest
2. Obstinate
3. Rude
4. Not enduring
5. Disagreeable
6. Ugly

Males

- Bad
- Dishonest
- Obstinate
- Ugly
- Proud
- Hard

Older Group

1. Proud
2. Ambitious
3. Dishonest
4. Hard
5. Irresponsible
6. Envious
7. Disloyal

Females

1. -
2. -
3. -
4. -
5. -

Males

- Proud
- Ambitious
- Dishonest
- Hard

6. -
7. -

- Envious
- Disloyal

Qualities "liked" in people

D VILLAGE

1. True
2. Likeable
3. Kind
4. Good
5. Responsible

Younger Group

1. Likeable
2. Kind
3. Generous
4. Good looks
5. Responsible

Females

1. Kind
2. Likeable
3. Good looks
4. True
5. Responsible

Males

- Good
- Likeable
- Generous
- Hard working
- Kind

Older Group

1. Kind
2. Likeable
3. Loyal
4. Intelligent
5. True

Females

1. True
2. Likeable
3. Kind
4. Loyal
5. Personality
6. Intelligent

Males

- True
- Kind
- Honest
- Friendly
- Good
- Intelligent

M VILLAGE

1. True
2. Kind
3. Responsible
4. Likeable
5. Honest

Younger Group

1. Good
2. True
3. Good looks
4. Sociable
5. Likeable
6. Honest

Females

1. True
2. Good
3. Good looks
4. Sociable
5. Likeable

Males

- Good
- Educated
- True
- Good looks
- Just

Older Group

1. Kind
2. Responsible
3. Kind
4. With Personality
5. Likeable

Females

1. -
2. -
3. -
4. -

Males

- True
- Kind
- Responsible
- With
Personality
- Honest
- Likeable

APPENDIX 6

Mean scores

a) Overall means for each guise

	<u>Basque</u>	<u>Castilian</u>	<u>Difference: B-C</u>
1. Active	5.8	5.7	
2. Tall	5.6	5.9	
3. Kind	6.5	5.9	0.6
4. Ambitious	4.0	4.6	-0.6
5. Quiet	4.7	4.7	
6. Personality	6.8	6.5	
7. Humour	4.7	4.3	
8. Conservative	4.9	5.1	
9. Trustworthy	6.4	6.2	
10. Hard	4.6	4.7	
11. Initiative	5.5	5.6	
12. Generous	6.4	6.0	
13. Honest	6.8	6.7	
14. Independent	6.5	6.0	0.5
15. Intelligent	7.1	7.2	
16. Intransigent	4.5	4.8	
17. Loyal	6.6	5.8	0.8
18. Leader	4.5	4.8	
19. Peace loving	6.0	5.6	
20. Religious	5.7	6.3	-0.6
21. Reserved	5.2	5.0	
22. Responsible	6.8	6.5	
23. Wealthy	4.2	5.0	-0.8
24. Self confident	6.8	7.0	
25. Likeable	5.7	5.5	
26. Sociable	6.3	6.2	
27. Enduring	5.0	4.7	
28. Tenacious	5.5	5.6	
29. Hard working	7.6	7.4	

b) Overall means in each guise from D village and M village

		BASQUE			CASTILLIAN		
		<u>D</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
		<u>VILL.</u>	<u>VILL.</u>		<u>VILL.</u>	<u>VILL.</u>	
		D-M			D-M		
1.	Active	6.0	5.7		6.0	5.3	0.7
2.	Tall	5.9	5.3	0.6	6.1	5.7	
3.	Kind	6.9	6.2	0.7	5.8	6.0	
4.	Ambitious	4.3	3.7	0.6	4.6	4.6	
5.	Quiet	4.8	4.6		5.0	4.4	0.6
6.	Personality	6.8	6.8		6.8	6.2	
7.	Humour	4.9	4.5		4.0	4.7	-0.7
8.	Conservative	5.4	4.4	1.0	5.3	4.9	
9.	Trustworthy	6.8	6.1	0.7	6.4	5.9	
10.	Hard	4.6	4.5		4.5	4.8	
11.	Initiative	5.6	5.3		5.6	5.5	
12.	Generous	6.8	6.0	0.8	6.3	5.7	0.6
13.	Honest	7.1	6.5	0.6	7.0	6.4	0.6
14.	Independent	6.6	6.4		6.6	5.4	1.2
15.	Intelligent	7.5	6.8	0.7	7.3	7.2	
16.	Intransigent	4.6	4.4		4.8	4.8	
17.	Loyal	6.8	6.4		6.1	5.6	
18.	Leader	5.1	4.0	1.1	4.8	4.7	
19.	Peace Loving	6.5	5.5	1.0	5.9	5.4	
20.	Religious	6.0	5.4	0.6	6.6	6.0	0.6
21.	Reserved	5.4	5.1		5.0	5.1	
22.	Responsible	7.2	6.4	0.8	6.7	6.3	
23.	Wealthy	4.2	4.3		4.9	5.2	
24.	Self-confident	6.9	6.7		7.3	6.8	
25.	Likeable	5.8	5.6		5.6	5.4	
26.	Sociable	6.5	6.1		6.3	6.1	
27.	Enduring	4.8	5.2		4.7	4.6	
28.	Tenacious	5.7	5.4		5.9	5.2	0.7
29.	Hardworking	7.9	7.4		7.9	7.0	0.9

c) Overall means for each speaker in each guise

		BASQUE			CASTILLIAN		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Fem.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Fem.</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
1.	Active	6.2	5.5	0.7	6.0	5.3	0.7
2.	Tall	5.7	5.4		6.1	5.7	
3.	Kind	6.6	6.5		5.7	6.2	
4.	Ambitious	4.5	3.5	1.0	5.1	4.1	1.0
5.	Quiet	4.7	4.7		4.6	4.9	
6.	Personality	6.9	6.7		6.7	6.3	
7.	Humour	4.8	4.6		4.1	4.6	
8.	Conservative	4.9	4.9		4.9	5.3	
9.	Trustworthy	6.2	6.6		5.7	6.6	0.9
10.	Hard	5.3	3.9	1.4	5.5	3.9	1.6
11.	Initiative	5.9	5.1	0.8	5.8	5.4	
12.	Generous	6.2	6.6		5.6	6.3	-0.7
13.	Honest	6.9	6.7		6.2	7.1	-0.9
14.	Independent	6.7	6.2		6.1	6.0	
15.	Intelligent	7.0	7.2		7.2	7.2	
16.	Intransigent	4.5	4.6		5.1	4.5	
17.	Loyal	6.3	6.9	-0.6	5.4	6.3	-0.9
18.	Leader	4.8	4.2	0.6	5.2	4.4	0.8
19.	Peace Loving	5.5	6.4	-0.9	5.3	6.0	-0.7
20.	Religious	5.7	5.8		6.2	6.4	
21.	Reserved	5.2	5.3		4.7	5.4	-0.7
22.	Responsible	7.0	6.6		6.6	6.5	
23.	Wealthy	4.3	4.2		5.4	4.6	-0.8
24.	Self-confident	6.9	6.7		7.4	6.7	0.7
25.	Likeable	5.6	5.8		5.2	5.8	-0.6
26.	Sociable	6.5	6.1		5.8	6.6	0.8
27.	Enduring	5.1	4.9		4.6	4.8	
28.	Tenacious	5.8	5.3		5.9	5.2	
29.	Hardworking	8.2	7.1	1.1	7.2	7.7	

APPENDIX 7a

A.

NOMBRE NUMERO

SEXO : F ☐ M ☐

NACIDO EN EL

RESIDENTE EN

1. ¿ TE GUSTA ESTUDIAR IDIOMAS ? SI ☐ NO ☐

2. PON EN ORDEN DE PREFERENCIA LAS TRES LENGUAS QUE TE PARECEN MAS BONITAS DE HABLAR:

1.

2.

3.

3. PON EN ORDEN DE PREFERENCIA LAS TRES LENGUAS QUE HOY EN DIA TE PARECEN MAS UTILES DE HABLAR:

1.

2.

3.

4. ¿ HAS OIDO HABLAR EUSKERA ALGUNA VEZ ?

NO ☐SI ☐ : ¿ TE PARECE DIFICIL ? : NO ☐ SI ☐

5.

¿ ENTIENDES EUSKERA ?

¿ HABLAS EUSKERA ?

¿ LEES EUSKERA ?

¿ ESCRIBES EUSKERA ?

Nada	Muy Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho	Perfectamente

6. SI NO HABLAS EUSKERA, ¿ TE GUSTARIA APRENDER ?

SI ☐NO ☐

B.

1. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE MAS APRECIAS EN UNA PERSONA :

1.

2.

3.

2. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE MENOS TE GUSTAN EN UNA PERSONA :

1.

2.

3.

3. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE TU CREES SON NECESARIAS PARA
TENER EXITO :

1.

2.

3.

4. ESCRIBE TRES COSAS QUE TU RELACIONAS CON EL CARACTER VASCO :

1.

2.

3.

COMENTARIOS :

C.

- 1a. Escribe las tres palabras que te parecen más apropiadas para describir a la persona que acaba de hablar :

1.

2.

3.

- 1b. Marca el recuadro (SOLAMENTE UNO) que te parezca más apropiado para describir la impresión que te ha causado la persona que acaba de hablar :

a. Me gustaría tenerle como a mi mejor amigo ☐

b. Me gustaría invitarle a mi casa ☐

c. Disfrutaría charlando con esta persona ☐

d. Le aceptaría en mi grupo de trabajo ☐

e. Sólo querría conocerle de vista ☐

f. Preferiría que estuviera en otra clase ☐

g. Preferiría tenerle cuanto más lejos mejor ☐

2a. Marca las cualidades que tú crees describen mejor a la persona que acaba de hablar:

	Nada	Muy Poco		Algo		Bastante		Mucho		Extraordi- nariamente	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alto											
Amable											
Ambicioso											
Callado											
Duro											
Emprendedor											
Generoso											
Independiente											
Inteligente											
Intransigente											
Leal											
Líder											
Pacífico											
Religioso											
Reservado											
Rico											
Seguro de sí mismo											
Sentido del humor											
Serio											
Simpático											
Sociable											
Trabajador											

b. ¿ Qué profesión o trabajo crees que tiene la persona que acaba de hablar ?

1.

APPENDIX 7b

Gizon guztiak jaio orduan dignitate eta eskubide guztiak dabez, eta kontzientzia eta arrazoina daben legez, batakbezteakin ondo konpondu behar dabe.

Deklarazio hontan azaltzen diran eskubide eta askatasun guztiak dabez pertsona guztiak, kontuan euki barik zein dan erraza, kolore, sexu, hizkera, erlijio, iritzi politikoak edo beste edozein iritzi, zein dan nazional ala sozial etorrera, pozizio ekonomikoa, jaiotza edo beste edozein kondizio.

Gainera, ezda egingo bereizketa konkretorik, pertsona jurisdiziopean daben herriaren edo lurraldearen politika, judizial edo nazioarteko kondizioagaitik, nahiz eta herria independente izan, naiz eta fiduzial administraziopean dagoen lurralde, ez autonomo, edo beste edozein soberani erak mugatuak izan.

Pertsona guztiak dauke bere askatasunerako eta bere pertsonaren seguritaterako eskubidea.

Inor ere ez da egongo behartuta morroikerirako eta menperekirako; morroikeria eta morroi mota guztiak debekaturik dagoz.

Inor ez da torturatua izango, ez eta tratatu txar, gizagabetsu edo degradantetara sometitua izango.

Gizon guztiak dabe, edonon, bere pertsonalitate juridikoaren autorketarako eskubidea.

APPENDIX 8a

I (1)
PERSONAL COMPETENCE

Intelligent
Self-confident
Wise

II (2)
COMPETENCE

Intelligent
Confident
Dependable
High G.P.A.
Ambitious
Sincere
Active

III (3)
COMPETENCE

Intelligent
Self-confident
Leader
Courageous
Unambitious

PERSONAL INTEGRITY

Kind
Gentle
Trustworthy
Considerate

BENEVOLENCE

Kind
Tolerant
Polite
Religious
Conservative
Just

INTEGRITY

Kind
Dependable
Conscious
Character
Insincere

SOCIAL ATTRACT.

Amusing
Pleasant
Friendly
Interesting
Good Disposition

SOCIAL ATTRACT.

Sense of Humour
Likeable
Sociable
Good Looking
Happy
Tall
Strong
Big

SOCIAL ATTRACT.

Sense of Humour
Likeable
Sociable
Entertaining
Unaffectionate

MISCELLANEOUS

Tall
Religious

- (1) LAMBERT, W.E. et al. (1966): "Judging Personality through Speech : A French - Canadian Example". *Journal of Communication*, 16, 305-321
- (2) HART, R.J. and Brown, B.L. (1974): "Interpersonal Information Conveyed by the Content and Vocal Aspects of Speech". *Speech Monographs* 41, 371-380
- (3) MAZURKEWICH, I. et al. (1984): "A New Look at Language Attitudes in Montreal". *The McGill Working Papers in Linguistics* 2, 1, 145-163

APPENDIX 8b

List of adjectives obtained from the cases to describe the speakers.

COMPETENCE

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. ACTIVE. Activo | 20. PASSIVE. Pasivo |
| 2. AMBITIOUS. Ambicioso | 21. SIMPLE. Sencillo |
| 3. SELF RESPECT. Amor propio | 22. APATHETIC. Apático |
| 4. PERSONALITY.
Con personalidad | 23. NO PERSONALITY
Sin personalidad |
| 5. HARD. Duro | 24. LACKING CHARACTER
Blando |
| 6. ENTERPRISING.
Emprendedor | 25. NO ENTERPRISING.
Poco emprendedor |
| 7. COURAGEOUS. Valiente | 26. COWARD. Cobarde |
| 8. INDEPENDENT.
Independiente | 27. SERVILE. Servil |
| 9. INTELLIGENT. Inteligente | 28. STUPID. Bobo |
| 10. CLEAR. Claro | 29. CONFUSE. Confuso |
| 11. LEADER. Líder | 30. CONFORMIST.
Conformista |
| 12. DEPENDABLE. Responsable | 31. IRRESPONSIBLE.
Irresponsable |
| 13. RICH. Rico | 32. POOR. Pobre |
| 14. SELF-CONFIDENT.
Seguro de sí | 33. DIFFIDENT. Inseguro |
| 15. PROUD/CONCEITED.
Orgullosa | 34. HUMBLE. Humilde |
| 16. EARNEST. Serio | 35. UNRELIABLE.
No de confianza |
| 17. TENACIOUS. Tenaz | 36. LACKING WILL.
Sin voluntad |
| 18. HARD WORKING.
Trabajador | 37. LAZY. Vago |
| 19. STRONG. Fuerte | 38. WEAK. Débil |

BENEVOLENCE

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 39. KIND. Amable | 49. UNKIND. No amable |
| 40. GENEROUS. Generoso | 50. SELFISH. Egoísta |
| 41. HONEST. Honrado | 51. DISHONEST. No Honrado |
| 42. TRUE/SINCERE.
Verdadero | 52. FALSE. Falso |
| 43. JUST. Justo | 53. UNJUST. Injusto |
| 44. INTRANSIGENT.
Intransigente | 54. TOLERANT. Tolerante |
| 45. OBSTINATE. Obstinado | 55. ADAPTABLE. Adaptable |
| 46. LOYAL. Leal | 56. DISLOYAL. Desleal |
| 47. PEACEFUL. Pacífico | 57. VIOLENT. Violento |
| 48. ENDURING. Sufrido | 58. NOT ENDURING. NO
sufrido |

SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS

59. SILENT. Callado
 60. SOCIABLE. Sociable
 61. WITH HUMOUR. Humor
 62. RESERVED. Reservado
 63. LIKEABLE. Simpático
 64. OPTIMIST. Optimista
 65. JOYFUL. Alegre
 66. SLIM. Esbelto
 67. WARM. Cordial
 68. BEAUTIFUL. Guapo
 69. AGREEABLE. Agradable

 70. ELEGANT. Elegante
 71. EDUCATED. Educado
 72. GOOD MANNERS.
 Buenos modos
 73. TALL. Alto

74. TALKATIVE. Hablador
 75. UNSOCIABLE. Insociable
 76. BORING. Aburrido
 77. EXTROVERT. Abierto
 78. DISLIKEABLE. Antipático
 79. PESSIMIST. Pesimista
 80. SAD. Triste
 81. FAT. Gordo
 82. COLD. Frío
 83. UGLY. Feo
 84. DISAGREEABLE.
 Desagradable
 85. VULGAR. Vulgar
 86. UNEDUCATED. No educado
 87. RUDE. Malos modos

 88. SHORT. Bajo

OTHERS

89. RELIGIOUS. Religioso
 90. TRADITIONAL. Tradicional
 91. GOOD. Bueno
 92. YOUNG. Joven
 93. LIKING FOOD.
 Aficionado a la buena mesa

 94. NOT RELIGIOUS.
 No Religioso
 95. MODERN. Moderno
 96. BAD. Malo
 97. AGED. Mayor
 98. FRUGAL. Frugal

APPENDIX 8c

Qualities grouped for areas in this surveyCOMPETENCE

AMBITIOUS	Ambicioso
HARD	Duro
ACTIVE	Emprendedor
INTELLIGENT	Inteligente
TRUSTWORTHY-LOYAL	Leal
LEADER	Líder
SELF-CONFIDENT	Seguro de sí
EARNEST	Serio
HARD WORKING	Trabajador

BENEVOLENCE

KIND	Amable
GENEROUS	Generoso
INTOLERANT	Intransigente
PEACEFUL	Pacífico

SOCIAL ATTRACTIVENESS

SENSE OF HUMOUR	Con humor
LIKEABLE	Simpático
SOCIABLE	Sociable
RESERVED	Reservado

OTHERS

SILENT-QUIET	Callado
INDEPENDENT	Independiente
RELIGIOUS	Religioso
RICH-WEALTHY	Rico
TALL	Alto

APPENDIX 9i

"Stereotype" adjectives in open end labelling according to Village (Percentages)

(a)

COMPETENCE				BENEVOLENCE				SOCIAL ATTRACT.			
Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor
BMS1											
41.9	26.7	41.4	32.3	17.8	8.4	22.2	10.6	24.2	21.7	17.4	32.3
CMS1											
37.2	30.0	50.9	43.0	16.1	8.3	20.6	7.1	28.9	15.2	14.3	18.0
BFS1											
49.9	28.4	36.7	30.5	8.1	13.2	17.4	17.8	24.2	16.8	25.4	23.3
CFS1											
38.8	21.8	49.3	43.0	14.5	21.5	14.2	8.9	35.4	16.7	17.5	17.4

OTHERS						NO ANSWER		
BMS1	11.3	11.7	12.7	14.2	4.8	31.7	6.3	10.6
CMS1	9.7	8.2	9.4	19.4	8.1	38.3	4.8	12.5
BFS1	4.9	3.3	9.4	8.8	12.9	38.3	11.1	19.6
CFS1	6.5	5.0	11.1	12.3	4.8	35.0	7.9	17.9

	BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
I				
Bar	Likeable (14.5%)	Earnest (9.7%)	Earnest (12.9%)	Earnest (24.2%)
Bal	Independent/ Intelligent Dependable/ Young/Aged (5%)	Earnest (13.3%)	Kind (8.3%)	Peaceful (8.3%)
Ger	Intelligent/ Peaceful (12.7%)	Earnest (25.4%)	Earnest/ Sociable (9.5%)	Earnest (14.3%)
Igor	Earnest/ Likeable/ Aged (10.7%)	Earnest (25%)	Earnest/ Kind (10.7%)	Earnest (17.9%)
II				
Bar	Intelligent/ Sociable (9.7%)	Intelligent (16.1%)	Intelligent/ Likeable (9.7%)	Kind (12.9%)
Bal	Sociable (6.7%)	Earnest (10%)	Tall (6.7%) (6.7%)	Tall/ Young (10%)
Ger	Earnest (14.3%)	Earnest (14.3%)	Kind (11.1%)	Earnest (12.7%)
Igor	Earnest/ Kind (8.9%)	Hard/Kind (7.1%)	Likeable (10.7%)	Young (12.5%)
III				
Bar	Kind (14.5%)	Earnest (11.3%)	Intelligent (8.1%)	Kind (9.7%)
Bal	Active (8.3%)	Intelligent/ Earnest/ Sociable/ Fat (5%)	Sincere (6.7%)	Kind (8.3%)
Ger	Sociable (9.5%)	Intelligent (12.7%)	Peaceful/ Sociable (9.5%)	Self- confident (12.7%)
Igor	Earnest (8.9%)	Silent (7.1%)	Earnest (10.7%)	Sociable (10.7%)

(b)

COMPETENCE				BENEVOLENCE				SOCIAL ATTRACT.			
Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor
BMS2											
45.1	28.4	35.0	39.4	8.1	15.1	17.4	10.7	25.8	21.6	28.6	19.6
CMS2											
32.2	38.9	33.3	41.1	12.9	5.1	22.2	0.0	32.2	20.0	20.7	18.0
BFS2											
33.9	25.1	43.0	44.8	11.5	11.6	17.4	5.3	36.9	26.8	23.8	16.0
CFS2											
33.8	31.6	38.2	37.6	11.4	8.4	12.6	12.4	29.0	18.3	25.5	18.0

		OTHERS				NO ANSWER			
BMS2	12.9	3.2	11.7	10.7	8.1	31.7	7.9	19.6	
CMS2	9.8	9.8	11.1	17.7	12.9	36.7	12.7	23.2	
BFS2	8.0	3.2	7.9	19.5	9.7	33.3	7.9	14.3	
CFS2	12.9	8.4	7.8	10.6	12.9	33.3	15.9	21.4	

	BMS2	CMS2	BFS2	CFS2
I				
Bar	Earnest (12.9%)	Earnest (17.7%)	Independent/ Short (8.1%)	Earnest (14.5%)
Bal	Likeable (8.3%)	Shy/ Likeable (5%)	Likeable (10%)	Shy (10%)
Ger	Likeable (15.9%)	Earnest (19%)	Earnest (19%)	Likeable (11.1%)
Igor	Earnest (14.3%)	Earnest (10.7%)	Earnest (17.9%)	Earnest (19.6%)
II				
Bar	Earnest (9.7%)	Dislikeable (8.1%)	Earnest (9.7%)	Kind (8.1%)
Bal	Young (8.3%)	Tall (8.3%)	Young (6.7%)	Young (8.3%)
Ger	Kind (12.7%)	Earnest (14.3%)	Kind (17.5%)	Kind (14.3%)
Igor	Kind/ Likeable (8.9%)	Earnest (16.1%)	Short (8.9%)	Earnest (10.7%)
III				
Bar	Kind (8.1%)	Peaceful (8.1%)	Intelligent/ Hard working/ Kind/ Likeable (8.1%)	Kind/ Generous (8.1%)
Bal	Sociable (6.7%)	Kind/ Peaceful (6.7%)	Intelligent (6.7%)	Hard- working (8.3%)
Ger	Kind (12.7%)	Intelligent (9.5%)	Self confident (7.9%)	Likeable (7.9%)
Igor	Kind (8.9%)	Kind (8.9%)	Active/ Earnest/ Hard work./ Aged (7.1%)	Short/ Intelli- gent (7.1%)

(c)

	COMPETENCE				BENEVOLENCE				SOCIAL ATTRACT.			
	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor
BMS3a	45.0	36.7	62.0	51.9	8.0	8.2	9.5	0.0	40.2	23.5	14.2	25.0
CMS3	35.5	48.4	57.2	57.3	16.0	10.1	6.4	0.0	32.3	13.2	23.9	21.5
BFS3a	35.4	26.9	22.3	23.3	1.7	8.3	15.8	16.1	43.4	18.3	38.1	23.0
CFS3	20.8	25.1	33.4	21.5	14.6	15.0	27.0	16.1	41.9	18.3	20.6	23.0
BMS3b	40.3	31.6	52.3	44.8	14.5	3.3	1.9	1.7	25.7	20.1	19.0	23.0
BFS3b	22.5	26.7	33.4	19.7	16.2	6.6	25.3	10.7	45.2	25.0	19.1	37.0

	OTHERS				NO ANSWER			
	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor	Bar	Bal	Ger	Igor
BMS3a	6.4	1.6	9.5	10.6	3.2	30.0	4.8	12.5
CMS3	4.9	1.6	8.0	8.9	11.3	26.7	4.8	12.5
BFS3a	8.2	10.0	11.1	21.3	11.3	36.7	12.7	16.1
CFS3	14.6	8.2	11.1	23.1	8.1	33.3	7.9	16.1
BMS3b	9.8	5.0	7.9	16.1	9.7	40.0	1.6	14.3
BFS3b	4.8	16.7	11.1	23.1	11.3	25.0	11.1	8.9

	BMS3a	CMS3	BFS3a	CFS3
I				
Bar	Earnest (17.7%)	Likeable (14.5%)	Likeable (11.3%)	Likeable (11.3%)
Bal	Tall (8.3%)	Earnest (15%)	Intelligent/ Young (8.3%)	Young (8.3%)
Ger	Earnest (27%)	Earnest (31.7%)	Likeable (19%)	Kind (15.9%)
Igor	Earnest (26.8%)	Earnest (28.6%)	Young (19.6%)	Young (21.4%)
II				
Bar	Tall (12.9%)	Likeable (12.9%)	Likeable (11.3%)	Likeable (9.7%)
Bal	Earnest (11.7%)	Tall (10%)	Beautiful (10%)	Young (10%)
Ger	Intelligent (15.9%)	Earnest (17.5%)	Kind (12.7%)	Likeable (11.1%)
Igor	Kind/ Likeable (8.9%)	Earnest (8.9%)	Likeable (19.6%)	Likeable (8.9%)
III				
Bar	Likeable (11.3%)	Earnest (8.1%)	Intelligent (9.7%)	Intelligent/ Kind (8.1%)
Bal	Active/ Beautiful (6.7%)	Tall (11.7%)	Beautiful (8.3%)	Sincere/ Beautiful (6.7%)
Ger	Kind (19%)	Intelligent (12.7%)	Sociable (12.7%)	Intelligent (15.9%)
Igor	Intelligent (8.9%)	Intelligent (8.9%)	Kind (17.9%)	Likeable (12.5%)

	BMS3b	BFS3b
I		
Bar	Earnest (12.9%)	Likeable (14.5%)
Bal	Intelligent (10%)	Young (15%)
Ger	Earnest (22.2%)	Kind (15.9%)
Igor	Earnest (16.1%)	Young (23.2%)
II		
Bar	Intelligent (12.9%)	Likeable (12.9%)
Bal	Young (8.3%)	Young (11.7%)
Ger	Intelligent (9.5%)	Intelligent (9.5%)
Igor	Sociable (8.9%)	Likeable (14.3%)
III		
Bar	Kind (8.1%)	Likeable (8.1%)
Bal	Tall (8.3%)	Active/Beautiful (10%)
Ger	Independent/ Intelligent/Hard working (11.1%)	Sociable (14.3%)
Igor	Intelligent (8.9%)	Likeable (10.7%)

APPENDIX 9ii

"Stereotype" adjectives in open end labelling according to sex and age (Percentages)

I	GIRLS					BOYS				
	C	B	SA	O	N.A	C	B	SA	O	N.A
BMS1	40.2	15.6	23.7	5.7	14.8	31.0	14.2	23.5	19.4	11.9
CMS1	43.3	13.2	21.4	10.6	11.5	36.8	13.5	16.8	12.7	20.2
BMS2	36.1	13.0	24.6	8.2	18.1	37.7	12.6	23.5	10.9	15.3
CMS2	29.3	8.4	29.4	9.9	23.0	37.7	12.6	15.9	14.4	19.4
BMS3a	52.3	7.3	23.8	5.8	10.8	44.6	6.8	27.6	6.8	14.2
BMS3b	41.7	12.5	22.9	9.0	13.9	42.8	7.6	20.8	10.2	18.6
CMS3	51.5	5.8	26.9	3.3	12.5	46.9	10.9	18.3	8.6	15.3
BFS1	37.5	17.3	22.0	4.3	18.9	35.3	11.0	22.6	9.3	21.8
CFS1	40.0	15.6	22.9	6.7	14.8	36.9	14.4	20.9	10.0	17.8
BFS2	30.9	15.7	27.0	10.8	15.6	42.0	7.6	25.0	8.5	16.9
CFS2	38.7	13.9	21.9	7.5	18.0	31.9	8.4	23.5	12.6	23.6
BFS3a	26.9	13.2	30.2	13.2	16.5	26.9	7.6	31.8	11.8	21.9
BFS3b	28.7	14.8	27.7	14.0	14.8	22.6	15.1	35.3	13.5	13.5
CFS3	29.3	15.6	26.3	13.9	14.9	21.0	21.0	25.9	14.3	17.8
II										
BMS1	38.5	15.6	25.3	9.8	10.8	37.6	13.5	27.6	4.4	16.9
CMS1	43.4	17.3	26.8	5.9	6.6	38.7	20.3	16.6	5.9	18.5
BMS2	34.2	18.8	31.3	4.9	10.8	39.3	15.9	21.8	4.3	18.7
CMS2	31.9	22.0	28.6	6.7	10.8	39.3	13.5	27.6	4.3	15.3
BMS3a	42.8	16.4	26.9	4.9	9.0	41.8	14.5	26.8	5.0	11.9
BMS3b	38.4	14.8	24.5	9.0	13.3	43.7	11.7	25.7	5.3	13.6
CMS3	43.2	13.0	27.2	3.4	13.2	43.5	13.5	24.9	5.3	12.8

	C	B	SA	O	N.A	C	B	SA	O	N.A
BFS1	35.2	12.2	36.8	2.5	13.3	38.6	13.4	25.2	5.9	16.9
CFS1	39.0	13.9	25.4	9.2	12.5	33.5	17.6	26.8	8.5	13.6
BFS2	27.8	25.5	31.9	5.8	9.0	25.0	15.8	35.4	5.9	17.9
CFS2	37.6	11.5	25.4	11.6	13.9	29.9	18.5	22.8	8.5	20.3
BFS3a	31.9	8.2	40.9	5.8	13.2	37.6	13.4	30.3	5.9	12.8
BFS3b	29.3	13.9	33.5	7.5	15.8	32.8	14.9	29.4	8.4	14.5
CFS3	32.8	13.9	31.9	4.9	16.5	35.2	11.7	29.4	5.9	17.8

III

BMS1	31.2	19.6	33.6	4.0	11.6	27.5	16.8	26.9	9.4	19.4
CMS1	38.5	10.6	36.9	4.2	9.8	38.6	15.9	22.6	9.5	13.4
BMS2	37.5	21.4	19.6	5.8	15.7	27.5	20.9	26.8	4.4	20.4
CMS2	30.4	17.9	23.6	3.4	24.7	30.9	24.4	24.2	5.2	15.3
BMS3a	36.9	15.6	26.0	4.0	17.5	35.0	18.6	25.4	5.0	16.0
BMS3b	44.9	9.0	28.6	4.2	13.3	29.4	12.7	29.1	5.9	22.9
CMS3	39.4	15.6	27.7	4.0	13.3	33.4	19.4	22.6	6.8	17.8

BFS1	36.0	17.2	25.3	4.2	17.3	30.9	21.0	25.0	3.6	19.5
CFS1	35.0	15.7	27.0	2.6	19.7	27.6	19.9	29.2	2.9	20.4
BFS2	36.0	17.0	23.7	7.6	15.7	40.2	15.3	27.4	2.6	14.5
CFS2	35.1	11.4	29.5	4.2	19.8	30.0	16.9	30.0	3.6	19.5
BFS3a	35.9	17.2	31.1	4.2	11.6	40.4	20.8	21.0	3.4	14.4
BFS3b	31.0	19.9	34.3	0.9	13.9	32.7	12.6	38.6	3.4	12.7
CFS3	39.2	13.9	27.8	5.9	13.2	24.3	15.1	31.0	5.1	24.5

(b)	YOUNGER					OLDER				
I	C	B	SA	O	N.A	C	B	SA	O	N.A
BMS1	32.6	12.2	27.7	17.1	10.4	38.5	17.6	17.6	9.5	16.8
CMS1	34.3	14.2	23.1	12.3	16.1	48.8	12.5	17.7	6.3	14.7
BMS2	35.5	11.5	26.5	8.4	18.1	40.6	15.6	18.7	9.4	15.7
CMS2	27.0	12.1	24.0	14.2	22.7	39.6	9.2	20.7	11.6	18.9
BMS3a	43.1	6.6	27.8	9.4	13.1	54.2	8.4	23.9	2.0	11.5
BMS3b	39.2	10.4	22.1	11.2	17.1	44.9	8.3	23.8	9.4	13.6
CMS3	31.4	11.6	36.3	6.6	14.1	41.6	18.7	15.5	3.3	20.9
BFS1	27.1	13.4	31.5	6.4	21.6	44.7	13.6	13.4	9.4	18.9
CFS1	35.3	7.6	24.8	11.3	21.0	40.3	19.8	17.6	7.5	14.8
BFS2	27.6	11.4	29.7	10.3	21.0	44.6	12.5	22.8	7.4	12.7
CFS2	26.8	12.3	25.8	10.5	24.6	41.6	8.4	21.8	8.4	19.8
BFS3a	19.2	8.4	34.3	17.1	21.0	36.3	11.5	26.9	9.5	15.8
BFS3b	12.3	20.1	33.4	19.1	15.1	41.7	10.4	25.8	9.5	12.6
CFS3	17.3	20.1	25.7	21.8	15.1	35.3	16.7	24.8	8.5	14.7
II										
BMS1	35.4	10.4	31.6	7.5	15.1	40.7	16.7	22.8	6.2	13.6
CMS1	35.4	21.1	28.1	6.3	9.1	48.8	12.5	17.7	6.3	14.7
BMS2	27.6	20.1	32.7	6.5	13.1	44.8	15.6	20.8	3.0	15.8
CMS2	31.5	18.3	32.4	7.5	10.3	40.6	17.7	20.8	2.0	18.9
BMS3a	30.5	17.2	34.3	7.6	10.4	50.9	15.7	18.7	2.0	12.7
BMS3b	40.2	10.4	27.6	9.6	12.2	41.4	14.7	22.8	5.3	15.8
CMS3	31.5	14.3	33.5	2.6	18.1	58.0	11.6	17.7	3.2	9.5
BFS1	25.7	16.2	33.5	4.6	20.0	46.9	11.5	26.8	4.3	10.5
CFS1	27.8	18.0	32.5	9.5	12.2	46.6	10.4	21.8	6.4	14.8
BFS2	23.1	21.1	40.1	6.5	9.2	33.2	21.8	20.8	5.3	18.9
CFS2	22.1	17.1	25.6	14.2	21.0	44.6	12.5	21.8	4.3	16.8
BFS3a	24.0	11.6	44.0	6.9	13.5	40.3	11.4	30.3	4.3	13.7
BFS3b	20.1	17.1	41.1	7.5	14.2	41.6	7.4	24.8	7.4	18.8
CFS3	28.6	8.5	38.3	7.5	17.1	37.5	15.6	25.9	3.2	17.8

	YOUNGER					OLDER				
	C	B	A	O	N.A	C	B	SA	O	N.A
III										
BMS1	29.7	17.2	37.2	4.6	11.3	32.4	15.5	20.8	8.4	22.9
CMS1	35.2	12.5	35.3	8.5	8.5	41.6	17.7	22.7	4.3	13.7
BMS2	32.4	22.0	26.0	9.3	10.3	31.2	17.7	20.7	1.0	29.4
CMS2	28.6	20.1	32.5	2.7	16.1	37.3	18.8	14.5	5.4	24.0
BMS3a	35.4	13.4	33.5	2.6	15.1	35.5	20.7	15.6	6.3	21.9
BMS3b	30.7	12.3	35.3	5.6	16.1	46.5	10.4	19.9	4.3	18.9
CMS3	31.4	11.6	36.3	6.6	14.1	41.6	18.7	15.5	3.3	20.9
BFS1	29.0	19.0	26.6	7.4	18.0	35.4	21.9	22.8	0.0	19.9
CFS1	26.0	18.1	37.1	1.8	17.0	42.5	16.8	14.4	1.2	25.1
BFS2	31.6	16.2	34.4	6.6	11.2	41.4	11.5	21.8	3.4	21.9
CFS2	30.5	18.1	35.5	5.6	10.3	36.4	10.5	24.8	1.0	27.3
BFS3a	30.8	22.8	32.5	3.6	10.3	48.6	14.6	18.7	3.3	14.8
BFS3b	21.1	19.1	44.1	1.6	14.1	43.8	10.5	30.9	2.2	12.6
CFS3	22.0	16.2	34.4	7.4	20.0	41.7	13.2	22.8	2.4	19.9

	GIRLS	BOYS	YOUNGER	OLDER
Males:				
BMS1	Likeable/ Earnest (12.3%)	Aged (12.6%)	Likeable (12.4%)	Earnest Peaceful (10.4%)
	Kind (9%)	Earnest (9.2%)	Earnest (9.5%)	Kind (8.3%)
	Kind (9%)	Kind (6.7%)	Hard working (9.5%)	Sociable (9.4%)
CMS1	Earnest (22.1%)	Earnest (15.1%)	Earnest (18.1%)	Earnest (17.7%)
	Intelligent/ Earnest (10.7%)	Earnest (9.2%)	Intelligent (8.6%)	Intelligent/ Earnest (10.4%)
	Earnest (9.8%)	Sociable/ Tall (7.6%)	Intelligent (9.5%)	Intelligent (9.4%)
BMS2	Likeable (14.8%)	Self con- fident (8.4%)	Earnest (13.3%)	Self con- fident/ Likeable (10.4%)
	Kind (8.2%)	Earnest (8.4%)	Kind (8.6%)	Self con- fident (9.4%)
	Kind (9%)	Kind (8.4%)	Kind (10.5%)	Kind (7.3%)
CMS2	Earnest (13.9%)	Earnest (10.9%)	Earnest (13.3%)	Earnest (11.5%)
	Earnest (10.7%)	Earnest (10.1%)	Earnest (14.3%)	Intelligent (8.3%)
	Intelligent (6.6%)	Kind (7.6%) (7.6%)	Generous (6.7%)	Kind (7.3%)
BMS3a	Earnest (19.7%)	Earnest (19.3%)	Earnest (22.9%)	Earnest (15.6%)
	Intelligent/ Kind (9.8%)	Intelli- gent/ Earnest (8.4%)	Kind/ Likeable (10.5%)	Earnest (12.5%)
	Likeable (6.6%)	Kind (10.1%)	Intelligent/ Hard working/ Likeable (7.6%)	Kind (9.4%)

BMS3b	Earnest (20.5%)	Intelligent (9.2%)	Earnest (21%)	Self con- fident (9.4%)
	Intelligent (9%)	Tall (9.2%)	Intelligent (10.5%)	Intelligent (9.4%)
	Intelligent/ Hard working (9.8%)	Sociable/ Tall (6.7%)	Tall (9.5%)	Intelligent (10.4%)
CMS3	Hard working (28.7%)	Earnest (15.1%)	Earnest (28.6%)	Earnest (13.5%)
	Earnest (10.7%)	Earnest (9.2%)	Tall (12.4%)	Earnest (13.5%)
	Intelligent (10.7%)	Sociable/ Tall (7.6%)	Intelligent (11.4%)	Intelligent (7.3%)
Females:				
BFS1	Earnest (13.1%)	Peaceful/ Young (7.6%)	Earnest (10.5%)	Sociable (9.4%)
	Likeable (12.3%)	Kind (8.4%)	Kind/ Likeable (10.5%)	Earnest (9.4%)
	Earnest (8.2%)	Kind (5.9%)	Kind/ Sociable (8.6%)	Self con- fident (6.3%)
CFS1	Earnest (17.2%)	Earnest (13.4%)	Earnest (19%)	Humble (12.5%)
	Earnest (9%)	Kind (8.4%)	Kind (10.5%)	Earnest (10.4%)
	Earnest (9.8%)	Kind (7.6%)	Kind (8.6%)	Self con- fident (9.4%)
BFS2	Earnest (12.3%)	Earnest (10.9%)	Earnest (13.3%)	Earnest (11.5%)
	Kind (8.2%)	Kind (6.7%)	Kind (10.5%)	Kind (8.3%)
	Tall (5.7%)	Intelligent/ Hard working (6.7%)	Intelligent (9.5%)	Active (5.2%)

CFS2	Earnest (14.8%)	Young (9.2%)	Likeable (12.4%)	Intelligent (7.3%)
	Earnest/ Young (8.2%)	Kind (8.4%)	Kind (10.5%)	Earnest (11.5%)
	Hard working (6.6%)	Kind (6.7%)	Intelligent/ Kind (6.7%)	No Confid- idence (7.3%)
BFS3a	Likeable/ Tall (12.3%)	Young (10.1%)	Young (15.2%)	Likeable (11.5%)
	Likeable (15.5%)	Intelligent/ Kind (9.2%)	Likeable (12.4%)	Likeable (10.4%)
	Kind (9%)	Kind (8.4%)	Kind (10.5%)	Intelligent (8.3%)
BFS3b	Likeable (13.9%)	Young (12.6%)	Young (16.2%)	Intelli- gent/ Young (9.4%)
	Likeable (13.1%)	Kind (9.2%)	Likeable (12.4%)	Self con- fident (11.5%)
	Kind (7.4%)	Sociable (10.1%)	Sociable (10.5%)	Likeable (8.3%)
CFS3	Young (13.1%)	Kind (12.6%)	Young (17.1%)	Kind/ Young (8.3%)
	Likeable (9.8%)	Likeable (8.4%)	Likeable (10.5%)	Likeable (9.4%)
	Intelligent (9%)	Intelligent (6.7%)	Likeable (13.3%)	Intelligent (9.4%)

APPENDIX 10i

Mean Scores

		BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
		<u>BMS1</u>	<u>BMS2</u>	<u>BMS3a</u>	<u>BMS3b</u>	<u>CMS1</u>	<u>CMS2</u>	<u>CMS3</u>
(a) Male Speakers								
1	Tall	4.1	4.2	5.9	5.5	4.0	3.7	6.2
2	Kind	5.8	5.1	5.4	5.1	4.2	4.4	5.5
3	Ambitious	3.7	4.0	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.3	4.8
4	Quiet	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.9	3.2
5	Hard	3.5	4.1	4.4	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.9
6	Enterprising	5.0	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.0	4.3	5.6
7	Generous	5.9	5.0	5.0	4.9	4.6	4.7	5.3
8	Independent	5.2	5.2	5.6	5.5	5.2	4.7	5.5
9	Intelligent	6.3	5.8	6.4	6.6	6.0	5.1	6.9
10	Intransigent	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.6	4.2	4.3
11	Loyal	5.9	5.3	5.1	4.8	4.7	4.7	5.4
12	Leader	4.6	4.2	4.9	4.6	4.6	4.2	5.0
13	Peaceful	6.1	5.1	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.1	5.1
14	Religious	5.9	5.0	4.4	4.4	5.2	4.8	4.6
15	Reserved	4.2	3.8	3.9	3.7	4.1	4.2	3.7
16	Wealthy	3.2	3.4	3.9	4.0	4.1	3.4	4.2
17	Self confident	5.9	5.6	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.0	6.0
18	Humour	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.8	3.7	4.4	4.6
19	Earnest	5.2	4.9	5.3	4.8	5.6	5.0	5.5
20	Likeable	4.8	4.8	5.0	5.1	4.2	4.6	4.8
21	Sociable	6.0	5.5	5.5	5.7	4.9	5.0	5.6
22	Hard working	7.0	6.6	6.7	6.7	6.1	6.0	6.9

APPENDIX 10i

Mean Scores

		BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
		<u>BFS1</u>	<u>BFS2</u>	<u>BFS3a</u>	<u>BFS3b</u>	<u>CFS1</u>	<u>CFS2</u>	<u>CFS3</u>
(b) Female Speakers								
1	Tall	4.1	3.6	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.9	3.8
2	Kind	5.5	4.8	5.0	5.5	4.7	5.0	5.2
3	Ambitious	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.1	3.7	4.2
4	Quiet	3.9	4.0	3.4	3.1	4.2	4.0	3.3
5	Hard	3.1	3.8	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.1	3.2
6	Enterprising	4.8	4.1	4.7	4.7	4.2	4.2	4.6
7	Generous	5.5	4.7	5.1	5.4	4.9	5.0	5.2
8	Independent	5.9	5.1	5.5	5.6	5.1	5.0	5.5
9	Intelligent	6.2	5.5	6.2	6.5	5.6	5.7	6.1
10	Intransigent	3.6	4.2	3.9	4.1	4.1	3.8	4.0
11	Loyal	5.5	4.8	5.0	4.9	4.8	5.2	4.9
12	Leader	4.1	3.9	4.2	4.3	3.8	3.7	4.0
13	Peaceful	5.6	4.9	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.5	5.2
14	Religious	4.8	4.8	4.5	4.7	4.7	5.0	4.7
15	Reserved	4.4	4.3	3.8	4.1	4.5	4.4	3.8
16	Wealthy	3.1	3.3	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.2	3.5
17	Self confident	5.5	5.1	5.5	5.8	5.2	4.9	5.4
18	Humour	4.2	4.1	4.9	4.8	4.1	4.0	4.6
19	Earnest	4.7	5.0	3.9	4.1	5.0	5.0	4.3
20	Likeable	5.1	4.5	5.3	5.5	4.5	4.8	5.2
21	Sociable	5.5	4.9	5.8	5.8	5.3	5.0	5.5
22	Hard working	6.6	5.9	6.2	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2

APPENDIX 10ii

Mean scores in the different villages

(a) Male speakers : BMS1/CMS1

		BDO		BAL		GER		IGOR	
		<u>*a</u>	<u>*b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
1	Tall	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.4	4.0	3.5	4.3	3.5
2	Kind	5.6	4.3	5.5	3.9	6.2	4.3	5.5	3.2
3	Ambitious	3.7	4.2	3.2	4.1	2.8	4.3	2.5	4.0
4	Quiet	3.3	3.0	2.9	3.3	3.3	3.8	3.1	3.1
5	Hard	2.5	4.1	3.1	4.1	2.9	4.4	2.8	4.1
6	Enterprising	4.3	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.0	5.1	4.7	4.0
7	Generous	5.3	4.3	5.4	4.5	6.6	4.6	5.8	4.1
8	Independent	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.1	5.0	5.3	4.1	4.1
9	Intelligent	5.9	6.1	6.2	5.6	6.7	6.4	6.2	5.2
10	Intransigent	3.4	4.3	3.5	3.8	3.3	4.4	3.0	4.4
11	Loyal	5.9	4.3	5.1	5.0	6.3	4.7	5.8	4.6
12	Leader	3.7	4.0	4.9	3.8	3.3	3.9	3.9	4.0
13	Peaceful	6.1	4.6	5.3	4.6	6.5	5.3	5.6	4.7
14	Religious	4.1	4.1	5.0	4.3	6.4	5.4	6.5	5.2
15	Reserved	3.5	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.8	4.2	4.0	3.7
16	Wealthy	2.7	3.7	2.8	3.5	2.7	3.6	2.6	4.0
17	Self confident	5.6	5.5	5.2	4.9	6.5	6.1	5.9	5.2
18	Humour	4.1	3.3	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.1	4.0	3.1
19	Earnest	4.3	5.0	4.2	4.4	5.2	6.4	4.6	5.3
20	Likeable	4.3	4.0	4.6	4.4	4.8	3.5	4.1	3.5
21	Sociable	5.7	5.0	5.3	4.6	6.5	5.2	5.5	4.5
22	Hard working	6.6	6.0	6.9	5.9	7.3	6.6	6.9	5.0

* a = BMS1

* b = CMS1

APPENDIX 10ii

Mean scores in the different villages

(b) Male speakers : BMS2/CMS2

		BDO		BAL		GER		IGOR	
		<u>*a</u>	<u>*b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
1	Tall	3.9	3.7	3.9	3.0	3.7	3.1	4.5	3.6
2	Kind	4.8	4.3	4.6	4.1	5.7	4.5	4.6	4.3
3	Ambitious	4.1	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.4	4.4	2.9	3.2
4	Quiet	2.5	3.8	2.5	3.3	3.0	3.4	3.5	3.3
5	Hard	3.0	3.9	3.4	3.3	3.6	4.3	3.9	2.8
6	Enterprising	4.5	3.7	4.9	3.6	4.7	4.8	4.4	3.8
7	Generous	4.7	4.3	4.7	4.4	5.6	5.2	4.8	4.2
8	Independent	5.1	4.5	4.8	4.0	5.5	5.0	4.5	4.1
9	Intelligent	5.7	4.7	5.6	4.5	6.0	5.8	5.6	4.6
10	Intransigent	3.2	3.7	3.8	3.6	3.5	4.1	3.2	3.6
11	Loyal	5.5	4.2	4.9	4.4	5.6	4.8	4.7	4.1
12	Leader	3.7	3.6	4.0	3.3	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.2
13	Peaceful	5.0	5.1	4.3	4.9	5.7	5.2	4.5	4.6
14	Religious	3.5	4.4	3.8	4.0	6.2	5.1	4.3	4.1
15	Reserved	3.2	3.8	3.7	4.0	3.2	3.9	3.5	4.0
16	Wealthy	2.8	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.5	3.2
17	Self confident	5.5	4.7	5.5	4.1	6.0	5.5	4.5	4.7
18	Humour	4.0	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.0	3.8	4.1
19	Earnest	4.4	5.0	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.9	4.6	4.0
20	Likeable	4.3	3.9	4.5	4.4	4.7	4.1	4.5	4.0
21	Sociable	5.2	4.8	5.2	4.7	6.0	5.3	5.0	4.7
22	Hard working	6.5	5.7	6.3	5.6	6.9	6.3	6.2	5.7

* a = BMS2

* b = CMS2

APPENDIX 10ii

Mean Scores in the different villages

(c) Male speakers : BMS3/CMS3

	BDO			BAL			GER			IGOR		
	*a	*b	*c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
1. Tall	6.0	6.1	5.4	5.1	5.7	4.7	6.0	6.6	5.7	5.6	6.2	5.3
2 Kind	5.2	5.6	4.9	5.0	5.8	4.7	5.8	5.4	5.4	5.0	4.6	4.6
3 Ambitious	4.3	4.0	4.6	4.4	3.9	3.7	4.3	4.5	4.5	3.7	4.0	3.5
4 Quiet	2.9	2.6	3.2	2.8	2.5	2.9	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.4	2.4
5 Hard	3.7	3.6	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.1	4.6	4.6	4.2	3.4	4.7	4.0
6 Enterprising	5.2	5.3	4.8	5.2	5.2	5.0	5.3	6.2	5.4	4.8	5.1	4.7
7 Generous	4.7	5.3	4.7	4.8	5.3	4.6	5.1	5.2	5.2	4.5	4.5	4.4
8 Independent	5.3	4.9	5.2	5.0	5.1	5.1	6.0	5.9	6.3	5.0	4.5	4.6
9 Intelligent	6.0	7.0	5.8	6.1	6.7	6.4	6.8	7.5	7.6	6.1	6.2	6.1
10 Intransigent	3.8	3.6	3.7	4.2	4.2	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.2	3.6	4.1	3.4
11 Loyal	5.7	5.8	4.7	4.7	5.1	4.4	5.3	5.5	5.0	4.0	4.1	4.5
12 Leader	4.3	4.0	3.8	4.8	4.9	4.1	4.5	4.8	4.0	3.9	4.3	4.1
13 Peaceful	4.8	5.4	4.7	4.3	5.0	4.7	4.9	5.0	5.5	4.4	4.1	4.1
14 Religious	3.1	4.1	3.6	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.7	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.3	3.7
15 Reserved	3.2	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.1	3.5	3.1	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6
16 Wealthy	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.9	3.6	3.5	3.7	4.1	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.3
17 Self confid.	5.6	5.9	5.6	5.9	5.5	5.8	6.5	6.3	6.4	5.6	5.6	5.6
18 Humour	4.3	4.6	4.4	5.0	4.5	5.8	4.2	3.9	4.6	4.3	3.4	4.5
19 Earnest	4.2	4.1	4.4	4.6	4.8	4.0	5.7	5.5	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.4
20 Likeable	4.9	5.2	4.5	5.1	4.5	5.0	4.5	4.7	5.0	4.7	4.0	4.9
21 Sociable	5.3	5.9	5.3	5.4	5.1	5.4	5.5	5.9	6.2	5.5	5.1	5.2
22 Hard working	6.4	6.9	6.3	6.6	6.6	6.6	7.1	7.1	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.5

*a = BMS3a

*b = CMS3

*c = BMS3

APPENDIX 10ii

(d) Female speakers : BFS1/CFS1

		BDO		BAL		GER		IGOR	
		<u>*a</u>	<u>*b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
1	Tall	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.6	4.2	3.7	3.7	3.8
2	Kind	5.1	4.6	5.2	4.8	6.1	4.8	5.3	4.5
3	Ambitious	3.6	3.8	3.1	3.1	3.5	4.5	3.0	2.8
4	Quiet	3.7	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.8
5	Hard	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.3	3.4	2.2	2.5
6	Enterprising	4.6	4.2	4.4	3.8	4.9	4.7	4.3	3.6
7	Generous	5.0	5.2	5.3	4.5	5.7	4.9	5.4	4.7
8	Independent	6.1	4.9	5.7	4.5	5.7	6.0	4.8	3.8
9	Intelligent	6.2	5.2	6.5	5.1	6.5	6.2	5.7	5.2
10	Intransigent	3.1	3.9	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.8	3.0	3.7
11	Loyal	5.3	4.9	5.2	4.5	5.7	4.5	5.2	3.9
12	Leader	3.2	3.0	3.8	3.2	3.7	3.2	3.4	3.2
13	Peaceful	5.7	5.2	4.9	5.4	5.6	5.4	5.4	4.6
14	Religious	3.8	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.4
15	Reserved	3.9	3.5	4.0	4.3	3.6	4.0	4.1	5.0
16	Wealthy	2.7	3.6	3.1	3.4	2.5	3.3	2.7	3.3
17	Self confident	5.5	4.7	5.2	5.0	5.0	6.2	5.6	4.2
18	Humour	3.6	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.3
19	Earnest	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.7	4.3	4.9	3.8	4.3
20	Likeable	5.0	4.4	4.6	4.5	5.2	4.1	4.6	3.8
21	Sociable	5.0	5.0	5.4	5.3	5.9	5.3	5.0	4.8
22	Hard working	6.4	5.8	6.3	5.0	7.1	6.4	6.3	5.3

*a = BFS1

*b = CFS1

APPENDIX 10ii

Mean scores in the different villages

(e) Female speakers : BFS2/CFS2

		BDO		BAL		GER		IGOR	
		*a	*b	a	b	a	b	a	b
1	Tall	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.0	3.3
2	Kind	4.5	4.9	4.9	5.1	4.9	5.4	4.3	4.0
3	Ambitious	3.7	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	2.6
4	Quiet	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.8
5	Hard	3.3	2.0	2.8	2.2	3.2	2.5	2.9	2.4
6	Enterprising	3.9	3.8	3.8	4.0	4.1	4.3	3.3	3.9
7	Generous	4.0	4.7	4.9	5.5	5.0	5.0	4.2	4.2
8	Independent	5.0	4.8	4.7	4.7	5.0	5.3	4.3	4.4
9	Intelligent	5.5	4.9	5.5	6.1	5.6	5.9	5.2	5.6
10	Intransigent	3.8	3.3	3.9	3.1	4.0	3.1	3.7	3.5
11	Loyal	4.8	4.9	4.5	5.5	4.9	5.4	4.1	4.1
12	Leader	3.1	2.2	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.0	3.2
13	Peaceful	5.1	5.5	4.8	5.4	5.0	5.4	3.9	5.1
14	Religious	3.7	4.6	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.9	4.7	4.5
15	Reserved	3.8	3.6	4.0	4.7	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.1
16	Wealthy	2.8	2.7	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.6
17	Self confident	4.9	4.3	5.0	4.5	5.0	5.1	4.5	4.4
18	Humour	3.9	3.3	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.5	3.5
19	Earnest	4.3	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.9
20	Likeable	4.3	4.0	4.6	5.1	3.9	4.8	3.6	3.9
21	Sociable	4.4	4.4	5.2	5.2	5.0	5.3	4.2	4.2
22	Hard working	5.9	5.5	5.6	6.0	5.9	6.5	6.0	6.0

*a = BFS2

*b = CFS 2

APPENDIX 10ii

Mean Scores in the different villages

(f) Female speakers : BFS3/CFS3

		EDO			BAL			GER			IGOR		
		<u>*a</u>	<u>*b</u>	<u>*c</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>
1	Tall	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.6	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.9	3.7	3.2	3.1
2	Kind	4.5	5.2	5.2	4.7	5.0	5.3	5.7	5.9	6.0	4.8	4.5	5.4
3	Ambitious	3.7	3.3	3.3	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.9	3.2	3.0	3.0
4	Quiet	3.4	3.1	3.4	2.8	2.6	2.3	3.2	3.0	2.9	2.4	2.5	2.5
5	Hard	2.8	2.3	2.1	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.1	2.4	2.6	2.1	2.3	1.9
6	Enterprising	4.0	3.9	4.0	4.5	5.0	4.9	5.0	4.8	4.8	4.4	3.8	4.0
7	Generous	4.6	4.8	5.2	5.0	4.9	4.8	5.7	5.6	5.6	4.7	5.0	5.4
8	Independent	5.2	4.5	4.9	5.6	5.4	5.7	5.7	6.2	5.9	4.6	4.9	4.8
9	Intelligent	6.1	5.7	6.2	5.7	6.3	6.5	7.2	6.5	7.0	5.4	5.2	6.1
10	Intransigent	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.4	4.0	3.3	3.9	3.6
11	Loyal	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.5	5.1	5.1	5.6	4.4	4.0	4.0
12	Leader	3.2	2.9	3.4	3.9	4.3	4.3	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.9	3.0	3.8
13	Peaceful	5.1	5.5	5.2	4.7	4.6	5.0	5.5	5.6	5.9	4.2	4.5	4.3
14	Religious	3.6	4.0	3.7	4.1	4.5	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.7	4.3	3.9	4.3
15	Reserved	3.5	3.4	3.8	3.0	3.6	3.3	3.7	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.9
16	Wealthy	3.2	3.2	2.8	3.6	3.1	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.1	3.1	3.1
17	Self confid.	5.3	4.8	5.0	5.2	5.6	5.6	5.9	5.7	6.3	5.0	5.0	5.6
18	Humour	4.8	4.5	4.2	4.9	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.6	4.5	3.9	4.6
19	Earnest	3.6	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.1	4.0	4.0	4.1	2.8	3.3	2.6
20	Likeable	4.7	5.2	5.2	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.6	5.5	5.3	4.0	5.6
21	Sociable	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.6	5.5	5.4	6.0	6.3	6.2	5.7	4.4	5.6
22	Hard working	5.8	6.1	6.0	5.7	6.1	5.6	6.7	6.5	6.8	6.0	5.6	6.2

*a = BFS3a

*b = CFS3

*c = BFS3b

APPENDIX 10iii

t Values for significance of mean differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker.

(a) Male speakers

TRAIT:

		<u>BMS1/CMS1</u>	<u>BMS2/CMS2</u>	<u>BMS3a/CMS3</u>	<u>BMS3a/BMS3b</u>
1	Tall		3.88***	-3.29**	3.33**
2	Kind	9.34***	3.10**		2.03*
3	Ambitious	-6.01***			
4	Quiet		-2.82**		
5	Hard	-5.63***			
6	Enterprising		3.36**		
7	Generous	7.06***	2.76**		
8	Independent		2.81**		
9	Intelligent	2.53*	4.33***	-3.60***	
10	Intransigent	-4.42***			
11	Loyal	5.69***	3.93***		2.44*
12	Leader				
13	Peaceful	4.81***			
14	Religious	2.62**			
15	Reserved			-2.36*	
16	Wealthy	-4.49***			
17	Self confident		3.32**		
18	Humour	2.95			
19	Earnest	-3.18**			
20	Likeable	3.4**	1.97*		
21	Sociable	4.45***	2.52**		
22	Hard working	5.01***	3.32***		

Positive entries indicate that Basque guises are rated higher on the scale than Castilian ones, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guises

APPENDIX 10iii

t Values for significance of mean differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker.

(b) Female speakers

	<u>BFS1/CFS1</u>	<u>BFS2/CFS2</u>	<u>BFS3a/CFS3</u>	<u>BFS3a/BFS3b</u>
1 Tall				
2 Kind	4.46***			-3.18**
3 Ambitious		2.10*		
4 Quiet				2.33*
5 Hard		3.97***		
6 Enterprising	2.36**			
7 Generous	2.62**	-2.15*		
8 Independent	3.17**			
9 Intelligent	4.23***			
10 Intransigent		2.87**		
11 Loyal	4.30***	-2.87**		
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful		-3.03**		
14 Religious				
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy	-3.30**			
17 Self confident				
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				
20 Likeable	3.31**			
21 Sociable				
22 Hard working	3.97***			

Positive entries indicate that Basque guises are rated higher on the scale than Castilian ones, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guises.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village.

(a) Male speakers : Speaker 1

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall			2.07*	
2 Kind	3.31**	4.61***	4.96***	6.01***
3 Ambitious			-5.02***	-3.84***
4 Quiet				
5 Hard	-3.27**	-2.40*	-2.93**	-2.58**
6 Enterprising				2.02*
7 Generous	3.05**	2.11*	5.50***	3.53***
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent		2.17*		2.15*
10 Intransigent	-2.03*		-3.41***	-2.20*
11 Loyal	4.61***		4.42***	2.67**
12 Leader		1.97*		
13 Peaceful	3.61***		2.55**	1.95*
14 Religious			1.97*	2.40*
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy	-2.40*		-2.18*	-2.61*
17 Self confident				
18 Humour	2.14*		2.22*	
19 Earnest			-2.28*	-2.19*
20 Likeable			3.17**	2.02*
21 Sociable	2.09		3.21**	2.21*
22 Hard working		2.61*	2.08*	3.75***

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village

(b) Male speakers : Speaker 2

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall		2.41*	2.23*	2.27*
2 Kind			3.06**	
3 Ambitious			-2.48*	
4 Quiet	-3.19**			
5 Hard	-2.10*			2.49*
6 Enterprising	2.42*	3.25**		
7 Generous				
8 Independent		2.26*		
9 Intelligent	2.71**	3.21**		2.58*
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal	3.01**		2.01*	
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious	-2.06*			
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy				
17 Self confident	2.04*	3.31**		
18 Humour				
19 Earnest	-2.06*			
20 Likeable				
21 Sociable			2.81**	
22 Hard working	2.06*			

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than the Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of difference in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village.

(c) Male speakers : Speaker 3

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall			-2.36*	
2 Kind		-2.15*		
3 Ambitious				
4 Quiet				
5 Hard				-2.80**
6 Enterprising			-2.27*	
7 Generous				
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent	-2.89**		-2.28*	
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal	3.96***			
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious	-3.10**			
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy				
17 Self confident				
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				-2.00*
20 Likeable				1.97*
21 Sociable				
22 Hard working				

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than the Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p <0.05 **p <0.01 ***p <0.001 Two-tailed Tests

(c)

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque guises (Batua and Biscayan) for the Male speakers in each village.

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
a) Male Speakers				
1 Tall	2.64*			
...				
2 Intelligent		-2.58*		
...				
3 Earnest		2.51*		

Positive entries indicate that the Batua guise is rated higher on the scale than the Biscayan one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Biscayan guise.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village.

(d) Female speakers : Speaker 1

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall				
2 Kind			3.32**	2.18*
3 Ambitious			-1.99*	
4 Quiet				
5 Hard			-2.29*	
6 Enterprising				
7 Generous		2.05*	2.04*	
8 Independent	2.90**	2.62*		
9 Intelligent	2.54**	3.89***		
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal		2.04*	3.11**	2.97**
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious	-1.99*			
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy	-2.44*		-2.30*	
17 Self confident	2.58*		-3.02**	3.16**
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				
20 Likeable			2.22*	2.04*
21 Sociable				
22 Hard working	1.99*		2.31*	2.55*

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than the Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village.

(e) Female speakers : Speaker 2

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall				
2 Kind				
3 Ambitious				2.25*
4 Quiet				
5 Hard	2.91**	1.99*		
6 Enterprising				
7 Generous		-2.05*		
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent		-2.23*		
10 Intransigent		2.08*		
11 Loyal		-3.18*		
12 Leader	2.37*			
13 Peaceful				-2.95*
14 Religious	-2.50*			
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy				
17 Self confident				
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				
20 Likeable			-2.11*	
21 Sociable				
22 Hard working				

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than the Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10iv

t Values for significance of differences in evaluation of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in each village.

(f) Female speakers : Speaker 3

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
1 Tall				
2 Kind	-3.19**			
3 Ambitious				
4 Quiet				
5 Hard				
6 Enterprising				2.26*
7 Generous				
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent		-2.27*	2.23*	
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal				
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious				
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy				
17 Self confident				
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				
20 Likeable				
21 Sociable				3.09**
22 Hard working				2.75**

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale than the Castilian one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

(f) t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque guises (Batua and Biscayan) for the female speakers in each village.

	<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
2 Kind	-2.07*			
4 Quiet	2.16*			

Positive entries indicate that the Batua guise is rated higher on the scale than the Biscayan one, while negative figures indicate a more favourable evaluation for the Biscayan guise.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10v

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in the villages grouped by the number of Basque speakers in the area.

(a)1 Male speakers : Basque guise

	SPEAKER 1	SPEAKER 2	SPEAKER 3	SPEAKER 3 (bis)
1 Tall				
2 Kind				
3 Ambitious	2.39*	2.20*		
4 Quiet		-2.33*		
5 Hard				
6 Enterprising				
7 Generous	-2.96**			
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent				-2.51*
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal				
12 Leader				
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious	-5.11***	-4.42***	-2.64**	
15 Reserved				
16 Wealthy				
17 Self confident	-2.49*			
18 Humour				
19 Earnest				
20 Likeable			-1.92	
21 Sociable				
22 Hard working				

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale by the two villages with fewer Basque speakers in the area - Barakaldo and Balmaseda -, while negative entries indicate a more favourable evaluation from the two villages with more Basque speakers in the area - Gernika and Igorre.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests.

APPENDIX 10v

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in the villages grouped by the number of Basque speakers in the area.

(a) 2 Male speakers : Castilian guise

	SPEAKER 1	SPEAKER 2	SPEAKER 3
1 Tall			
2 Kind			2.03*
3 Ambitious			
4 Quiet			
5 Hard			-3.07**
6 Enterprising		-2.41*	
7 Generous			
8 Independent			
9 Intelligent		-2.06*	
10 Intransigent			
11 Loyal			
12 Leader			
13 Peaceful			
14 Religious	-2.82**		
15 Reserved			
16 Wealthy			
17 Self confident		-2.03*	
18 Humour			2.53*
19 Earnest	-3.52***		-2.51*
20 Likeable	2.23*		
21 Sociable			
22 Hard working			

Positive entries indicate that the Castilian guise is rated higher on the scale by the two villages with fewer Basque speakers in the area - Barakaldo and Balmaseda -, while negative entries indicate a more favourable evaluation from the two villages with more Basque speakers in the area - Gernika and Igorre.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10v

t Values for significance of differences in evaluation of Basque and Castilian guises for each speaker in the villages grouped by the number of Basque speakers in the area.

(b)1 Female speakers : Basque guise.

		SPEAKER 1	SPEAKER 2	SPEAKER 3	SPEAKER 3 (bis)
1	Tall				
2	Kind	-1.95*		-2.19*	
3	Ambitious				
4	Quiet	2.30*			
5	Hard				
...					
17	Self confident				-2.07*
18	Humour				
19	Earnest				
20	Likeable		2.07*		
21	Sociable				
22	Hard working			-2.01*	-2.46*

(b)2 Female speakers : Castilian guise.

No significant difference in either of the three speakers.

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher on the scale by the two villages with fewer Basque speakers in the area - Barakaldo and Balmaseda - , while negative entries indicate a more favourable evaluation from the two villages with more Basque speakers in the area - Gernika and Igorre.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vi

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two sex groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(a) Male speakers

	BMS1	CMS1	BMS2	CMS2	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3
1 Tall							
2 Kind	-3.13**			-3.08**			
3 Ambitious							
4 Quiet		-2.22*		-3.24***			
5 Hard			-2.19*	-2.26*	-2.13*	-2.56*	
6 Enterprising							
7 Generous				-2.54*			
8 Independent							
9 Intelligent							
10 Intransigent		-2.24*					
11 Loyal		-2.47*		-2.11*			-2.0*
12 Leader						-2.07*	
13 Peaceful	-2.53*						-2.0*
14 Religious		-2.02*		-2.10*			
15 Reserved							
16 Wealthy							
17 Self confident							
18 Humour							
19 Earnest					-2.35*		
20 Likeable							
21 Sociable							
22 Hard working							

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the females while negative entries indicate higher figures from the male raters.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vi

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two sex groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(b) Female speakers

	BFS1	CFS1	BFS2	CFS2	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS3
1 Tall							
2 Kind		-2.28*					
3 Ambitious				-2.47*			
4 Quiet					-3.43***		
5 Hard							
6 Enterprising							
7 Generous		-2.40*					
8 Independent	-2.00*						
9 Intelligent							
10 Intransigent							
11 Loyal		-2.49*	-2.89**	-2.42*	-2.90**		-1.98
12 Leader		-2.64**	-2.16*			-2.37*	
13 Peaceful				-2.71**		-2.44*	
14 Religious		-3.21**					-2.63
15 Reserved							-2.33
16 Wealthy					2.20*		
17 Self confident						2.01*	
18 Humour		-3.20**					
19 Earnest					-2.02*		
20 Likeable		-3.14**					
21 Sociable		-2.97**	-2.68**	-2.24*			
22 Hard working							

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the females, while negative entries indicate higher figures from the male raters.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vii

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two age groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(a) Male speakers

	BMS1	CMS1	CMS2	CMS2
1 Tall				
2 Kind				
3 Ambitious	-4.27***	-3.62***	-4.96***	-2.63**
4 Quiet	-2.86**			
5 Hard		-2.39*	-2.23*	
6 Enterprising	-3.53***		-5.48***	
7 Generous		2.16*		
8 Independent				
9 Intelligent				
10 Intransigent				
11 Loyal				
12 Leader				2.38*
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious			2.09*	
15 Reserved	-3.19**			-1.97*
16 Wealthy	2.54*	-2.36*		3.01**
17 Self confident				
18 Humour				
19 Earnest		-2.10*		
20 Likeable				
21 Sociable	-2.17*		-2.00*	
22 Hard working				

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the younger age group, while negative entries indicate higher figures from the older group.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vii

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two age groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(a) Male speakers

	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3
1 Tall		-2.08*	
2 Kind			
3 Ambitious	-7.55***	-5.61***	-8.42***
4 Quiet			
5 Hard	-2.54*		-3.70***
6 Enterprising	-5.50***	-4.55***	-3.95***
7 Generous			3.25***
8 Independent	-2.71	-4.60***	-4.72***
9 Intelligent			
10 Intransigent			
11 Loyal			
12 Leader	-3.04**	-2.35*	-1.98*
13 Peaceful	2.30*		2.48*
14 Religious	2.60**	4.28***	4.03***
15 Reserved	-2.08*		
16 Wealthy			
17 Self confident		-3.98***	
18 Humour			
19 Earnest	-3.24***		-2.20*
20 Likeable			
21 Sociable	-2.06*		
22 Hard working			

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the younger age group while negative entries indicate higher figures from the older group.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vii

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two age groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(b) Female speakers

	BFS1	CFS1	BFS2	CFS2
1 Tall	2.02*			2.77**
2 Kind				3.13**
3 Ambitious	-4.92***	-3.00**	-4.13***	-4.11***
4 Quiet	-2.52*	-3.79***	-2.30*	-2.74**
5 Hard				
6 Enterprising	-2.96**		-2.91**	
7 Generous				
8 Independent	-2.50*			
9 Intelligent				4.64***
10 Intransigent		2.13*		
11 Loyal				
12 Leader		2.69**		3.03**
13 Peaceful				
14 Religious	3.31***	2.39*	4.10***	3.20**
15 Reserved	-4.23***	-3.44***	-2.69**	-3.15**
16 Wealthy			2.70**	
17 Self confident				5.62***
18 Humour				3.95***
19 Earnest	-4.78***		-3.06**	-3.27***
20 Likeable				2.80**
21 Sociable				2.12*
22 Hard working			2.42*	2.48*

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the younger age groups while negative entries indicate higher figures from the older group.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001 Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 10vii

t Values for significance of differences in evaluations by the two age groups of the Basque and Castilian guises of each speaker.

(b) Female speakers

	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS3
1 Tall		2.27*	1.99*
2 Kind		2.65**	2.66**
3 Ambitious	-6.42***	-7.12***	-5.87***
4 Quiet			
5 Hard	-2.24*	-3.89***	-2.80**
6 Enterprising	-2.80**	-4.04***	
7 Generous		2.55**	3.86***
8 Independent	-2.37*		
9 Intelligent			
10 Intransigent			
11 Loyal	2.40*		
12 Leader			
13 Peaceful	2.95**		
14 Religious	4.96***	5.02***	4.08***
15 Reserved		-2.46*	-2.39*
16 Wealthy			-2.04*
17 Self confident		-2.51*	
18 Humour	2.79**	2.76**	3.91***
19 Earnest	-2.61**	-4.41***	-4.28***
20 Likeable			3.09**
21 Sociable			
22 Hard working	3.14**	2.40*	2.47*

Positive entries indicate higher ratings from the younger age group while negative entries indicate a more favourable evaluation from the older group.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two-tailed Tests

APPENDIX 11i

Jobs and Professions assigned to speakers in their different guises according to villages. (Three highest percentages)

(a)

I Social class group

	BMS1						CMS1					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	35			32	23		55			16	16	
Balmaseda	35				27	18	38	15			21	
Gernika	21			10	54	10	41			16	27	
Igorre	32			16	38		32			16	25	

	BFS1						CFS1					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	36	16			31		32	27			24	
Balmaseda	32				28	17	27	15			45	
Gernika	32	21			24		43	16			25	
Igorre	34	11			41		38			11	36	

II: Job or Profession

<u>BARAKALDO</u>	<u>BALMASEDA</u>	<u>GERNIKA</u>	<u>IGORRE</u>
BMS1 Worker 24%	Politician 20%	Priest 44%	Priest 21%
Politician 13%	No Answer 18%	No Answer 10%	Worker 12%
Newsreader 10%	Doctor/Worker 8%	Politician 8%	Politician/ Newsreader 11%
CMS1 Worker 13%	Priest 11%	Priest 11%	Journalist 10%
Teacher 11%	No Answer 10%	Businessman/ Politician 10%	Office worker 8%
Newsreader 10%	Office worker 8%	No Answer 7%	Teacher/ No Answer/ Politician 6%
BFS1 Student 23%	No Answer 17%	Teacher 22%	Teacher 18%
Teacher 15%	Teacher 13%	Secretary/ No Answer 11%	Student 16%
Secretary 11%	Student 12%	Housewife 10%	Housewife/ Politician 10%
CFS1 Housewife 15%	Housewife 30%	Housewife 14%	Housewife 23%
Secretary 13%	Student 12%	Newsreader 13%	Student 11%
Teacher 11%	Nurse 7%	Nurse 8%	Newsreader/ Teacher 9%

(b)

I: Social class group

	BMS2						CMS2					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	36		8		16		36			27	26	
Balmaseda	37			27	15		35			28	20	
Gernika	27			21	41		27			22	43	
Igorre	34			36	16		36			34	15	

	BFS2						CFS2					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	27			11	29		19	21			32	
Balmaseda	23	25			35		27	17			42	
Gernika	32	25			27		27	25		14		
Igorre	30	14			38		30	20			32	

II: Job or Profession

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
BMS2	Worker 21% Manager/Teacher 7% Student/ Journalist/ Politician 5%	Worker 20% No Answer 13% Manager/ Politician 7%	Priest 38% Worker 11% Manager/ Teacher 8%	Worker 14% Teacher 11% Farmer 9%
CMS2	Worker/ Priest 13% Teacher 11% Student 8%	Worker/ Newsreader 12% Student 7% Teacher/Priest/ Politician/ No Answer 5%	Priest 27% Student 6% Journalist/ Plumber/ No Answer 5%	Worker 21% Lawyer 9% Teacher 7%
BFS2	Student 18% Secretary 10% Teacher/ Shop Assistant 8%	Student 25% Secretary/ Journalist 8% Housewife 7%	Secretary 18% Teacher/ Housewife 16% Student 13%	Student 21% Teacher/ Housewife 13% Secretary/ No Answer 5%
CFS2	Student 27% No Answer 11% Secretary 10%	Student 35% Secretary/ No Answer 8% Teacher 7%	Student 22% Secretary 17% Teacher 14%	Student 21% Secretary 14% Newsreader/ Teacher/

(c)

I : Social class group

	BMS3a						CMS3					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	45			15	23		63	11		11	8	
Balmaseda	52	17			15		43				25	18
Gernika	40			11	32		49			5	37	5
Igorre	57			14	20		71	5			16	

	BFS3a						CFS3					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	21	23			42		26	13			47	
Balmaseda	18	25			38		18	17			40	
Gernika	48	22			16		25	18			44	
Igorre	29	20			41		18	27			48	

	BMS3b						BFS3b					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Barakaldo	57			20	10		31	23			29	
Balmaseda	57			10	18		28				38	15
Gernika	59			8	21		44	14			32	
Igorre	41			20	25		23	14			48	

II : Job or Profession

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
BMS3a	Journalist 10% Teacher 8% Politician 7%	Office worker 12% Doctor/ Newsreader 8% Lawyer/Teacher/ Worker 7%	Politician 14% Engineer/ Teacher/ Priest 10% No Answer 6%	Teacher 14% Worker/ Student 9% Priest/ Journalist 7%
CMS3	Lawyer 13% Manager 10% Engineer/ Journalist/ Worker 8%	No Answer 18% Newsreader/ Politician 13% Lawyer 10%	Lawyer/ Politician 13% Priest 10% Student 8%	Newsreader 25% Teacher 11% Lawyer/Doctor/ Student 7%
BFS3a	Student 34% Secretary 16% Teacher 8%	Student 30% Nurse 13% Secretary 7%	Teacher 29% Secretary 11% Student 10%	Student 32% Secretary/ Model 7% Teacher/ Air Hostess/ Nurse 5%
CFS3	Student 42% Teacher 8% Newsreader/ No Answer 7%	Student 25% No Answer 15% Journalist/ Office worker/ Secretary 5%	Student 33% Secretary 13% Teacher/ Journalist/ Worker/ Politician 5	Student 39% Secretary 14% Teacher 9%

	BARAKALDO	BALMASEDA	GERNIKA	IGORRE
BMS3b	Worker 15% Newsreader 8%	Doctor 10% Student 8%	Manager 11% Newsreader/ Teacher/ Politician 10% Priest 6%	Student 18% Journalist 14% Lawyer 7%
	Lawyer/ Manager 7%	Lawyer/ Newsreader/ Politician/ Journalist/ No Answer 7%		
BFS3b	Student 21% Teacher 15% Secretary 11%	Student 35% No Answer 15% Teacher 7%	Teacher 25% Student 18% Secretary 10%	Student 43% Teacher 14% Secretary 9%

APPENDIX 11ii

Jobs and Professions assigned to speakers in their different guises according to sex and age of cases. (Three highest percentages)

I : Social class groups

	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	37			15	34		48			18	19	
Boys	26			19	37		37	15			27	
Younger	34			19	33		47			20	20	
Older	24			16	42		39	17			20	

	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	41	14			27		40	17			30	
Boys	26	18			36		31	17			36	
Younger	40	20			25		37	16			34	
Older	28	11		11	36		33	16			34	

II : Jobs and Professions

	BMS1	CMS1	BFS1	CFS1
Girls	Priest 18%	Worker 11%	Teacher 24%	Housewife 18%
Boys	Priest 21%	Priest 12%	Student 16%	Housewife 23%
Younger	Priest 18%	Priest 9%	Teacher 23%	Housewife 21%
Older	Priest 25%	Worker/ Priest 10%	Student 21%	Housewife 21%

(b)

I : Social class groups

	BMS2						CMS2					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	35			31	20		40			27	20	
Boys	27			30	33		27			30	33	
Younger	38			23	20		44			24	22	
Older	30			32	29		20			33	30	

	BFS2						CFS2					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	29	24			33		27	23			32	
Boys	28	23			32		26	19			35	
Younger	38	28			20		36	28			19	
Older	21	18			44			19		15	45	

II : Jobs and Professions

	BMS2	CMS2	BFS2	CFS2
Girls	Worker 20%	Worker 11%	Student 23%	Student 24%
Boys	Worker/ Priest 14%	Priest 15%	Student 16%	Student 30%
Younger	Priest 11%	Teacher 11%	Secretary 14%	Secretary 18%
Older	Worker 21%	Worker 18%	Student 25%	Student 41%

(c)

I : Social class groups

	BMS3a						CMS3					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	52	12			25		57				23	10
Boys	45			18	21		57	9			21	
Younger	53			14	18		59			8	20	
Older	38			14	32		55	11			23	

	BFS3a						CFS3					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	32	23			32		28	20			39	
Boys	27	23			37		16	17			52	
Younger	26	24			35		32	20			39	
Older	32	20			36		14	20			46	

	BMS3b						BFS3b					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A	I	II	III	IV	V	N/A
Girls	48			14	23		32	18			40	
Boys	60			16	14		32	13			34	
Younger	56			19	14		36	19			36	
Older	54	9	9		24		28	17			39	

II : Jobs and Professions

	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS3	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS3
Girls	Teacher 9%	Student 13%	Newsrd 13%	Student 26%	Student 31%	Student 31%
Boys	Teacher 11%	Newsrd 12%	Lawyer/ Newsrd 13%	Student 27%	Student 27%	Student 40%
Younger	Teacher 12%	Newsrd 10%	Newsrd 17%	Student 23%	Student 31%	Student 32%
Older	Politician 10%	Student 11%	Student 15%	Student 32%	Student 28%	Student 41%

APPENDIX 12

A.

NOMBRE

SEXO : F ☐ M ☐

NACIDO EN EL

RESIDENTE EN

1. ¿ TE GUSTA ESTUDIAR IDIOMAS ? SI ☐ NO ☐

2. PON EN ORDEN DE PREFERENCIA LAS TRES LENGUAS QUE TE PARECEN MAS BONITAS DE HABLAR:

1.

2.

3.

3. PON EN ORDEN DE PREFERENCIA LAS TRES LENGUAS QUE HOY EN DIA TE PARECEN MAS UTILES DE HABLAR:

1.

2.

3.

4. ¿ HAS OIDO HABLAR EUSKERA ALGUNA VEZ ? : SI ☐ NO ☐¿ TE PARECE DIFICIL ? : SI ☐ NO ☐5. ¿ HAS OIDO HABLAR INGLES ALGUNA VEZ ? : SI ☐ NO ☐¿ TE PARECE DIFICIL ? : SI ☐ NO ☐

6. ¿ ENTIENDES EUSKERA ?

¿ HABLAS EUSKERA ?

¿ LEES EUSKERA ?

¿ ESCRIBES EUSKERA ?

¿ ENTIENDES INGLES ?

¿ HABLAS INGLES ?

¿ LEES INGLES ?

¿ ESCRIBES INGLES ?

Nada	Muy Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho	Perfectamente

7. SI NO HABLAS EUSKERA, ¿ TE GUSTARIA APRENDER ? : SI ☐ NO ☐SI NO HABLAS INGLES, ¿ TE GUSTARIA APRENDER ? : SI ☐ NO ☐

B.

1. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE MAS APRECIAS EN UNA PERSONA :

1.

2.

3.

2. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE MENOS TE GUSTAN EN UNA PERSONA :

1.

2.

3.

3. ESCRIBE LAS TRES COSAS QUE TU CREES SON NECESARIAS PARA TENER EXITO :

1.

2.

3.

4. ESCRIBE TRES COSAS QUE TU RELACIONAS CON EL CARACTER VASCO :

1.

2.

3.

5. ESCRIBE TRES COSAS QUE TU RELACIONAS CON EL CARACTER INGLES :

1.

2.

3.

COMENTARIOS :

C.

- 1a. Escribe las tres palabras que te parecen más apropiadas para describir a la persona que acaba de hablar :

1.

2.

3.

- 1b. Marca el recuadro (SOLAMENTE UNO) que te parezca más apropiado para describir la impresión que te ha causado la persona que acaba de hablar :

a. Me gustaría tenerle como a mi mejor amigo ☐

b. Me gustaría invitarle a mi casa ☐

c. Disfrutaría charlando con esta persona ☐

d. Le aceptaría en mi grupo de trabajo ☐

e. Sólo querría conocerle de vista ☐

f. Preferiría que estuviera en otra clase ☐

g. Preferiría tenerle cuanto más lejos mejor ☐

a. Marca las cualidades que tú crees describen mejor a la persona que acaba de hablar:

	Nada	Muy Poco		Algo		Bastante		Mucho		Extraordi- nariamente	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alto											
Amable											
Ambicioso											
Callado											
Duro											
Emprendedor											
Generoso											
Independiente											
Inteligente											
Intransigente											
Leal											
Líder											
Pacífico											
Religioso											
Reservado											
Rico											
Seguro de sí mismo											
Sentido del humor											
Serio											
Simpático											
Sociable											
Trabajador											

b. ¿ Qué profesión o trabajo crees que tiene la persona que acaba de hablar ?

1.

APPENDIX 13i

Mean Scores

Plentzia 1983

(a) Male Speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BMS1	BMS2	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS1	CMS2	CMS3
1. Tall	3.9	4.0	4.8	3.2	4.6	3.4	5.4
2. Kind	5.6	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.7	4.1	4.8
3. Ambitious	3.5	3.8	3.9	3.6	4.1	3.7	3.9
4. Quiet	2.8	2.8	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.4	2.9
5. Hard	3.6	4.0	5.0	3.8	3.9	3.3	4.4
6. Enterprising	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.1	4.7	3.0	4.8
7. Generous	5.2	4.8	4.8	4.6	5.2	4.5	4.7
8. Independent	5.2	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.3	5.1	5.6
9. Intelligent	5.6	5.9	5.6	5.1	6.0	5.5	6.6
10. Intransigent	3.1	3.9	3.4	4.0	3.8	3.8	4.1
11. Loyal	5.5	4.9	4.7	4.7	5.0	5.0	5.1
12. Leader	4.7	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.6	3.7	4.8
13. Peaceful	5.1	4.6	4.4	4.7	4.8	5.4	5.0
14. Religious	3.8	4.3	3.6	3.9	4.0	4.3	3.9
15. Reserved	3.5	3.8	3.5	4.1	3.8	3.8	4.0
16. Wealthy	3.0	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.5	4.4
17. Self-confident	5.5	5.8	5.3	5.1	5.7	5.4	6.1
18. Humour	3.5	4.3	3.3	3.9	4.6	4.7	3.7
19. Earnest	4.6	4.3	5.2	5.1	4.2	4.2	5.2
20. Likeable	4.9	4.7	3.8	4.0	4.7	4.5	4.5
21. Sociable	5.4	5.6	4.5	4.8	5.0	5.0	5.5
22. Hard working	6.4	5.9	5.7	5.9	5.8	5.8	6.5

Plentzia 1983

(b) Female speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BFS1	BFS2	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS1	CFS2	CFS3
1. Tall	3.8	2.5	3.5	3.4	2.4	3.0	4.0
2. Kind	5.1	3.8	5.1	5.2	5.0	4.4	5.0
3. Ambitious	3.3	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.7	4.0
4. Quiet	3.1	2.7	2.6	3.0	3.4	3.1	3.4
5. Hard	2.9	3.3	2.6	2.0	2.8	3.2	3.6
6. Enterprising	4.2	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.0	3.9	4.4
7. Generous	4.8	4.0	5.2	5.7	4.9	5.0	4.8
8. Independent	5.4	4.0	5.1	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.0
9. Intelligent	5.9	4.8	6.5	5.6	5.0	5.5	5.8
10. Intransigent	3.3	3.7	4.0	2.7	3.4	3.3	3.6
11. Loyal	5.4	5.1	5.2	5.0	4.7	5.0	5.0
12. Leader	4.0	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.9
13. Peaceful	5.3	5.1	5.8	5.3	5.1	5.1	4.8
14. Religious	4.0	4.8	4.4	4.0	4.1	4.3	3.9
15. Reserved	3.6	4.0	4.1	3.5	4.0	3.5	3.8
16. Wealthy	2.8	3.7	3.7	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.9
17. Self-confident	5.2	4.7	5.7	5.1	5.0	5.2	6.0
18. Humour	3.7	4.0	5.0	4.2	4.6	3.2	4.3
19. Earnest	4.4	4.7	3.5	3.2	3.1	4.4	4.3
20. Likeable	5.1	3.9	5.6	5.3	5.1	4.7	4.6
21. Sociable	5.4	4.6	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.1	5.3
22. Hard working	6.4	5.1	6.3	5.8	5.7	5.7	6.0

Plentzia 1984

(c) Male speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BMS1	BMS2	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS1	CMS2	CMS3
1. Tall	4.0	3.4	5.5	3.7	4.9	4.2	5.9
2. Kind	5.3	4.4	4.5	4.2	4.6	4.7	5.5
3. Ambitious	3.2	3.8	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.1	3.5
4. Quiet	2.8	3.1	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.7	2.4
5. Hard	3.4	4.3	5.0	4.6	4.3	3.8	3.6
6. Enterprising	3.7	4.3	4.6	4.2	4.1	3.6	4.2
7. Generous	5.3	4.2	3.8	4.1	4.7	4.5	5.2
8. Independent	4.7	5.0	5.2	5.0	5.0	4.5	5.2
9.. Intelligent	6.2	5.8	5.7	5.3	5.8	5.1	6.7
10. Intransigent	3.5	4.2	4.2	3.5	4.2	3.9	3.5
11. Loyal	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.1	4.7	5.3
12. Leader	4.1	4.6	4.6	4.1	3.6	3.8	4.2
13. Peaceful	5.1	4.5	4.2	5.0	4.7	4.7	5.2
14. Religious	4.8	5.2	4.1	4.9	4.2	3.9	4.7
15. Reserved	3.5	3.8	3.4	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.3
16. Wealthy	2.4	3.9	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.4
17. Self-confident	5.5	5.6	5.7	4.7	5.6	4.7	6.0
18. Humour	4.1	3.4	4.0	3.5	3.9	3.9	3.9
19. Earnest	6.0	5.5	5.1	5.2	5.6	4.6	5.2
20. Likeable	5.0	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.6	4.4	4.9
21. Sociable	5.7	4.8	5.0	4.8	5.4	4.7	6.0
22. Hard working	7.0	5.9	5.9	5.4	6.2	5.1	6.9

Plentzia 1984

(d) Female speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BFS1	BFS2	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS1	CFS2	CFS3
1. Tall	3.7	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.5
2. Kind	5.1	4.4	5.2	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.0
3. Ambitious	3.2	3.6	3.2	3.6	3.8	3.3	3.8
4. Quiet	3.9	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.1	3.3	4.2
5. Hard	2.7	3.8	3.2	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.8
6. Enterprising	3.7	4.0	3.8	4.1	3.8	3.2	3.6
7. Generous	5.2	4.3	5.6	4.6	5.0	4.4	4.5
8. Independent	5.4	4.6	4.8	5.1	5.2	4.7	4.7
9. Intelligent	6.1	4.9	6.0	5.7	5.9	5.1	5.7
10. Intransigent	3.2	4.0	3.8	3.3	4.2	3.4	3.9
11. Loyal	5.1	4.3	4.9	4.8	4.8	5.0	4.9
12. Leader	3.0	3.6	4.1	3.5	3.4	3.0	3.2
13. Peaceful	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.5	5.0
14. Religious	4.9	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.4	4.5	4.5
15. Reserved	3.8	3.6	4.4	3.5	3.9	4.4	4.6
16. Wealthy	2.7	2.9	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.4
17. Self-confident	5.4	4.8	5.7	5.0	5.2	4.6	4.7
18. Humour	3.4	3.6	5.2	4.1	4.9	3.4	3.1
19. Earnest	4.5	5.2	3.9	4.1	3.8	4.8	4.6
20. Likeable	4.9	4.2	5.8	5.0	4.9	4.2	4.4
21. Sociable	5.0	4.8	5.9	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.7
22. Hard working	6.3	5.8	5.9	5.6	5.1	5.9	5.6

Plentzia 1985

(e) Male speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BMS1	BMS2	BMS3a	BMS3b	CMS1	CMS2	CMS3
1. Tall	4.0	4.0	4.6	3.9	4.4	3.8	4.9
2. Kind	5.5	4.2	4.4	4.3	4.7	4.5	4.9
3. Ambitious	2.9	3.8	3.9	3.4	3.3	3.9	3.9
4. Quiet	3.2	2.8	3.0	3.7	3.1	3.1	2.6
5. Hard	3.0	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.9	3.2	4.2
6. Enterprising	4.4	4.0	4.1	4.3	3.9	4.1	4.2
7. Generous	5.6	4.8	4.4	4.6	5.0	4.2	4.9
8. Independent	4.3	5.1	4.6	4.2	4.3	4.8	4.7
9. Intelligent	5.7	5.9	5.3	4.7	5.5	5.0	6.1
10. Intransigent	3.2	3.9	4.0	3.3	3.5	3.9	3.8
11. Loyal	4.6	4.9	4.2	4.0	4.5	3.9	5.3
12. Leader	3.1	4.1	3.6	3.2	3.4	3.3	4.7
13. Peaceful	5.4	4.6	4.4	5.0	4.6	4.6	5.3
14. Religious	4.6	4.3	3.5	4.6	3.7	3.6	4.4
15. Reserved	4.0	3.8	4.1	4.0	3.4	4.1	3.7
16. Wealthy	3.3	3.7	3.0	3.6	3.5	3.1	4.2
17. Self-confident	5.1	5.8	5.2	4.9	5.1	4.8	5.7
18. Humour	4.4	3.4	3.8	4.5	4.3	4.4	4.0
19. Earnest	4.1	4.3	5.5	4.3	4.3	4.4	5.0
20. Likeable	4.9	4.7	4.3	4.3	4.5	4.9	4.5
21. Sociable	5.5	5.6	4.7	4.9	5.0	5.0	5.6
22. Hard working	6.0	5.9	6.1	5.7	5.2	5.8	6.7

Plentzia 1985

(f) Female speakers

	BASQUE				CASTILIAN		
	BFS1	BFS2	BFS3a	BFS3b	CFS1	CFS2	CFS3
1. Tall	3.3	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.3
2. Kind	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.4	4.6
3. Ambitious	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6
4. Quiet	3.4	3.0	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.7
5. Hard	3.1	3.8	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.2
6. Enterprising	3.9	3.5	4.5	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.7
7. Generous	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.5	4.6	4.8	4.7
8. Independent	5.1	4.3	4.6	5.2	4.4	4.4	4.9
9. Intelligent	5.6	5.1	5.7	5.8	5.6	5.7	5.5
10. Intransigent	3.7	3.3	3.8	4.0	3.5	2.9	3.8
11. Loyal	5.0	4.2	4.1	4.5	4.0	4.7	4.4
12. Leader	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.9	3.1	3.1	3.8
13. Peaceful	5.0	5.1	4.3	5.0	4.7	4.9	4.7
14. Religious	3.5	4.7	3.5	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.0
15. Reserved	3.9	4.2	3.6	3.9	4.1	4.0	4.2
16. Wealthy	3.4	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.4	3.2	3.3
17. Self-confident	5.3	4.9	5.3	5.4	5.2	4.9	4.9
18. Humour	3.7	4.1	4.5	4.0	4.4	4.3	3.8
19. Earnest	4.6	4.5	4.1	4.7	4.0	3.9	5.0
20. Likeable	4.3	4.4	4.7	4.3	4.9	5.0	4.4
21. Sociable	5.0	4.9	5.3	4.9	5.4	5.1	5.1
22. Hard working	6.2	5.8	5.7	5.6	6.0	5.4	5.8

APPENDIX 13ii

t values of significance of mean difference between
Basque and Castilian guises in evaluations for each speaker.

Plentzia 83

	BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS	
	1	1	2	2	3a	3	1	1	2	2	3a	3
Tall					-2.34*		4.64***					
Kind	2.65**											
Enterprising			2.19*									
Generous									-2.63*		2.10*	
Independent									-2.09*			
Intelligent					-3.16**		2.51**					
Leader					-2.21*							
Peaceful			-1.99*								2.77**	
Wealthy	-1.99*				-2.23*				2.86**		2.00*	
Self-confident					-2.54*							
Humour	-2.21*											
Earnest											-2.02*	
Likeable					-1.99*				-2.29*		2.95**	
Sociable					-3.07*							
Hard working					-2.95**		2.48**	-2.21*				

Plentzia 84

	BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS	
	1	1	2	2	3a	3	1	2	2	2	3a	3
Tall	-2.48**		-2.06*									
Kind	2.16*				-2.49*						3.45***	
Ambitious	-2.39*											
Hard	-2.20*				2.98**				2.18*			
Enterprising									2.02*			
Generous					-3.99***						2.86**	
Intelligent					-3.31**							
Intransigent							-2.30*					
Leader											2.18*	
Peaceful					-2.83**							
Wealthy	-2.40*											
Humour							-3.38**				2.65**	
Likeable					-1.95*						1.96*	
Sociable					-2.45**							
Hard working					-2.88**	2.64*						

Plentzia 85

	BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BMS/CMS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS		BFS/CFS	
	1	1	2	2	3a	3	1	1	2	2	3a	3
Kind												
		2.15*										
Hard			-2.14*							2.42*		
Enterprising												2.40*
Intelligent					-2.27*				-2.12*			
Loyal					-3.24*		2.58*					
Leader					-2.45*							
Peaceful					-2.02*							
Religious					-2.68**							
Reserved		2.01*										
Wealthy					-3.15**							
Earnest												-2.00*
Sociable					-2.39**							
Hard working		2.05*										

Positive entries indicate that the Basque guise is rated higher than the Castilian one, while negative entries indicate a more favourable evaluation of the Castilian guise.

*p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

***p < 0.001

Two tailed tests

APPENDIX 14

Professional and Managerial

Abogado - Lawyer
 Actor - Actor
 Alto Cargo - Good Job
 Arquitecto - Architect
 Artista - Artist
 Astrólogo - Astrologist
 Bailarín - Dancer
 Banquero - Bank Manager
 Bellas Artes - Fine Arts Degree
 Bióloga - Biologist
 Cantante - Singer
 Capitán Barco - Captain (Merchant Navy)
 Científico - Scientist
 Con carrera - With a Degree
 Conferenciante - Speaker
 Consejero - Adviser
 Dentista - Dentist
 Deportista - Sportsman
 Diplomático - Diplomat
 Diseñador - Designer
 Doctor - Doctor
 Economista - Economist
 Ejecutivo - Executive
 Empresario - Industrialist
 En el Gobierno - Senior Civil Servant
 Escultor - Sculptor
 Escritor - Writer
 Farmacéutico - Pharmacist
 Filósofo - Philosopher
 Geólogo - Geologist
 Ingeniero - Engineer
 Juez - Judge
 Locutor - News presenter
 Modelo - Model
 Músico - Musician
 Notario - Notary
 Periodista - Journalist
 Piloto - Pilot
 Psicólogo - Psychologist
 Profesor (Univ) - Lecturer
 Profesor - Teacher
 Químico - Chemist
 Relaciones Públicas - Public Relations
 Sociólogo - Sociologist
 Traductor - Interpreter

Commercial and Industrial

Agente Publicitario - Publicity Agent
 Comerciante - Shop Owner
 Constructor - Building Managing Director
 Trabajo medio - Average Job

Clerical and Technical

Administrativa - Office Worker
 Asistentia Social - Social Worker
 Azafata - Stewardess
 Bibliotecaria - Librarian
 Delineante - Draughtsman
 Empleado Banco - Bank Worker
 Enfermera - Nurse
 Funcionario - Civil Servant
 Jefe - Supervisor
 Meteorólogo - Meteorologist
 Perito - Technician
 Secretaria - Secretary
 Trabajo no manual - White collar worker
 Representante - Salesman

Skilled workers (Manual & Technical)

Buceador - Diver
 Carnicero - Butcher
 Carpintero - Carpenter
 Electricista - Electrician
 Maquinista - Engine Driver
 Mecánico - Mechanic
 Puericultora - Qualified Nanny
 Oficial Máquinas - Assistant Chief Engineering
 Relojero - Watchmaker
 Sastre - Tailor
 Técnico (Lab) - Lab Technician
 Telefonista - Telephonist
 Tornero - Machinist

Part-skilled workers

Albañil - Bricklayer
 Bombero - Fireman
 Calderero - Boilermaker
 Camionero - Lorry Driver
 Panadero - Baker
 Cartero - Postman
 Cocinero - Cook
 Dependiente - Shop Assistant
 Empapelador/Pintor - Painter & Decorator
 Empleada Guardería - Auxiliary Nursery
 Fontanero - Plumber
 Minero - Miner
 Peluquero - Hairdresser
 Soldador - Welder
 Trabajador Imprenta - Printer

Agricultural and Fishing

Agricultor - Farmer
 Ganadero - Cattle dealer
 Patrón - Trawler skipper
 Pescador - Fisherman

Unskilled

Ayudante - Assistant
 Aprendiz - Apprentice
 Almacenero - Storekeeper
 Barrendero - Sweeper
 Botones - Bell boy
 Camarero - Waiter
 Cobrador - Conductor
 Conserje - Caretaker
 Criada - Home help
 Florista - Florist
 Guía - Guide
 Guardaespaldas - Bodyguard
 Jardinero - Gardener
 Lechero - Milkman
 Leñador - Woodcutter
 Limpiabotas - Bootblack
 Obrero - Manual Worker
 Pastor - Shepherd
 Recadista - Messenger
 Recepcionista - Receptionist
 Vendedor periodicos - Newsagent
 Zapatero - Shoemaker
 Cargo poca responsabilidad - Job little responsibility

Armed Forces

Sargento - Sergeant
 Soldado/Policia - Soldier/Policeman

No occupation and Others

Jubilado - Retired
 En Paro - Unemployed
 De baja - On sick leave
 Ama de casa - Housewife
 Sacerdote/Religioso - Priest/Religious
 Estudiante - Student
 Político - Politician
 Parlamentario - M.P.
 Alcalde - Town Mayor
 Concejal - Councillor
 Sindicalista - Trade Unionist
 Activista - Activist

ABBREVIATIONS

BIAEV : Boletín del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos.

BRSVAP/BRSBAP : Boletín de la Real Sociedad V/Bascongada de los Amigos del País.

CAL : Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington).

CILTR : Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research (London).

EE : Euskal-Erria.

EEA : Euskaleñiaren Alde.

FLV : Fontes Linguae Vasconum.

LGEV : La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.

RELC : Regional Language Centre (Singapore).

RIEV : Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos.

SIADeco : Sociedad de Investigación Aplicada al Desarrollo Comunitario.

TESOL : Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages.

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